The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXIV NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1922 No. 2954

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

THIRTY-EIGHT persons positively identified a man in Chicago the other day as an accomplice in a swindle. He was lodged in jail to await trial. There, in the usual course, fingerprints were taken, and were found to vary entirely from those of the real culprit, which fortunately for the prisoner were on file. The man was thereupon taken to court and released, the judge calling the mistake the "most startling proof of human fallibility" he had ever seen. A mistake of that sort may well startle all of us, but it is not as unique as one would like to believe. Lawyers and journalists are alike aware of the uncanny fallibility of eye-witnesses, but juries and the public are still chiefly swayed by this kind of testimony. The Chicago incident has a direct bearing on the case of Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts. Their conviction rests largely on identification by numerous eye-witnesses but in circumstances so difficult for exact observation that there is good reason to believe this testimony as dubious as that of the thirty-eight persons in Chicago who positively identified the wrong man.

IT is to General Pershing's credit that he has recommended a reduction in the number of our regular army officers from 17,000 to 12,000. That it was inevitable in view of the fact that our army is the top-heaviest in the world—we have one officer to every nine soldiers—and that the War Department is hard put to it to find occupation for them, does not detract from the praise to which General Pershing is entitled. None the less Congress will, we trust, not stop there. The further reduction of the troops to 100,000 or 75,000 should result in cutting the corps of officers to 5,000 or 6,000 and the abolition of half our generals, whom General Pershing leaves untouched. We would have a better and far more efficient army if there were fewer officers. Congress ought also to look into the steady building up of the Reserve Officers' Corps in which it is planned to enrol fully 75,000 men. Indeed, the wiles of the militarists need daily watching. Thus a bill is being put through the Maryland legislature giving the Governor power to draft civilians into the National Guard, a power already granted in New York, Vermont, and elsewhere, which the General Staff is striving to have granted everywhere. The object is plain: the Governor conscripts for the National Guard. Thus, since the Federal Government has the right to order the National Guard into service as a part of the regular army, a man may be a civilian in Maryland one day and find himself in the Federal service a week later bound to a war in Europe or in Mexico. It is conscription pure and simple which is thus being put over on Americans without their in the least suspecting it.

THAT Allied debt-refunding bill was another example of Congress's insatiable passion for camouflage. It provides for the appointment of a commission to "refund" or "convert" or "extend the time of payment" of principal and interest on the debts. The commission must set a rate of interest not lower than 4¼ per cent, and provide for payment by June 15, 1947. All this sounds very pretty. Of course it really means that the United States cannot collect the bill and that our rulers know it but do not dare confess it to the people. The debts will not be canceled—horrors, no! Neither will they be paid. They will be "refunded," i.e., payments on them will be indefinitely deferred and the pesky problem of cancelation put over to another Congress. The American people will be told that the debt is maintained at 4¼ per cent, and the European governments will understand that since they are not required to pay now at all, the rate of interest hardly matters—which will be satisfactory to everybody except the few who, realizing that England is the only one of the debtors likely ever to be able to repay, had hoped that cancelation would be used as a diplomatic lever toward a sane policy of reconstruction in Europe.

COLONEL ARTHUR WOODS, chairman of the Standing Committee of the President's Conference on Unemployment, declares that the falling off in employment "has not been so great as most people had anticipated." Something to relieve suffering is being done by employing men on public work and something along familiar lines of private and municipal charity. Detroit has appropriated $2,000,000 to meet the situation, and in Cleveland the community chest organization raised $3,500,000. The finance committee of the Chamber of Commerce in Poughkeepsie, New York, has a fund for making loans to unemployed men. Measures like these are good, but the nation as a whole is still too indifferent to this human problem. The American Legion can club Congress into bonus legislation, the embattled farmers—whose needs though very great are less than those of men without food or shelter—may possibly

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obtain a governmental subsidy in the form of a fixed price on agricultural products. But the politicians do not fear the unemployed. Labor is weak and on the defensive and its leaders lack vision. Mr. Gompers, indeed, proposes a thoroughgoing scheme for employment at public work but he opposes unemployment insurance, which has some value as a palliative, and he denounces recognition of Russia though that is one of the obvious essentials to a restoration of prosperity and employment throughout the world.

SENATOR KENYON'S appointment as Circuit Judge of the Eighth District is a high honor. Doubtless he will fill his office creditably; we do not judge his motives in accepting it. But there is something wrong with the governmental system or with the individual when one who is fighting the battles of the farmers and is the author of a code which he thinks will settle industrial disputes can so easily be turned from his course. Perhaps Senator Kenyon saw that the agricultural bloc was overrated as a constructive force; perhaps he did not have in him the stuff of leadership. At any rate it is evident that President Harding has studied the fable of the wind and the sun to some purpose. The leader whom he could not terrify by the blasts of his denunciation he has removed by the sunlight of his favor.

HENRY FORD a Democratic Presidential candidate? It seems unthinkable, and yet politicians, notably on the Republican side, are taking the prospect seriously, and so are those travelers who have lately been prowling about the South. Mr. Ford is probably the best-advertised man in America outside of the movies; he has more wealth to spend than anybody who has ever essayed to achieve the Presidency; his fairy-story rise to stupendous riches is unsurpassed since the Arabian Nights; these facts together with his humble origin make a powerful appeal to the imagination of the masses who do not know Mr. Ford's extraordinary mental limitations and total lack of equipment for managing the affairs of a vast nation. Again, his Muscle Shoals project has stirred the gratitude of the farmers. Most striking of all is Mr. Ford's leaning toward fiat money. There are more signs than one that we may be in for another campaign something on the Greenback order. What more fitting than that its exponent should be the man who has by a single invention created more wealth in shorter time than any other man in the last two decades? At any rate there are shrewd Republican leaders looking ahead to a campaign with Henry Ford in charge of the enemy.

NICARAGUA and Cuba are both politely but firmly asking the United States to call off its troops. Just why American troops are there at all is hard to understand; presumably it is to help "maintain law and order." But their methods are peculiar. On February 10, 1921, for instance, thirty United States marines raided the office of the *Tribuna* in the Nicaraguan capital, destroying the presses and "wrecking things generally" in revenge for an article attacking their manners. Later, we learn, twenty-one of them were court-martialed and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but, the court recommending clemency, this was reduced to two years. On December 30 several marines were found guilty of killing three Nicaraguan police. On January 27, 1922, a group of marines again clashed with the Managua police; Sergeant Lee Henry, U. S. M. C., and four policemen were killed. The New York *Times* placidly reports that this was the second battle of the kind within a few weeks, and that several other policemen had been killed. Meanwhile on January 25 marines killed a ranch watchman at Camaguey, Cuba. Thereupon our Navy Department ordered a shake-up, sending a detachment from Haiti to replace the riotous and alcoholic defenders of American law and order in Nicaragua, and shifting troops in Cuba. On February 5 the American Minister asked the Nicaraguan Government to give him space outside the capital to build a canteen, movie house, dance hall, drill and recreation grounds, so that the defenders of law and order could steer clear of the capital where their presence seemed to guarantee a riot. The Government was also asked to designate special saloons in town for the marines. Why not just call the boys home and leave the Nicaraguans, the Haitians, Dominicans, and Cubans alone?

MICHAEL COLLINS is in a fair way to discover that it is almost as hard to run a government as to run a revolution. At any rate he and his colleagues are in need of all the brains and courage which they have shown in former days, for they are faced with the tasks of framing a constitution, negotiating with Ulster, dealing with a railroad strike, and at the same time maintaining their position against the irreconcilable republicans. The Ulster question, which seemed on the road to settlement, has again become threatening. Objectively the situation calls for a conciliatory attitude toward the Orangemen in the hope that time and taxes will persuade them of the value of the Irish connection, but unfortunately the Nationalist minority in Northeast Ulster and their friends in the rest of Ireland are so outraged by Orange tactics as to find no virtue in patience. Catholic workmen are still deprived of their jobs and insecure in their homes. We are glad to observe that on Sunday, January 15, a joint appeal by the highest authorities of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan churches was read in all the Protestant churches of Belfast. It called for an end of "outbursts of crime which are a disgrace to any civilized community." The effect of their admirable statement is somewhat marred by their belief "that Protestants were not the original aggressors"—a belief which runs contrary to the fact that Catholic Nationalists have uniformly been the chief sufferers. For more than a year Catholic workers in and about Belfast have subsisted largely on White Cross bounty. The Premier, Sir James Craig, as the owner of a huge distillery, is a large employer as well as an Orangeman. Until he uses his influence and authority more effectively than in the past to protect the Catholics he cannot expect much sympathy from the world for his little government.

GERMANY is in the throes of a railroad strike that has driven those who must travel, and have cash in hand, to choose between the ultra-modern airplane and the eighteenth-century stage-coach. The General Federation of Labor and the Majority Socialist Party condemn the strike; the Coalition Government, in which Socialists participate, is doing its all to down it; but led by the strategically situated locomotive engineers the workers have left the railways as deserted as Wall Street on a Sunday; and their obvious success has encouraged Berlin's municipal workers to cut off the capital's supply of electricity and of water—except for the aquarium and the zoo! Why? The answer reveals the radical disease beneath the superficial health of German in

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dustry. The demand for gold reparations payments forced Germany to issue more paper currency and sell it abroad for gold, thus lowering the value of the paper mark; the low mark brought Germany orders from abroad and apparent prosperity—but also rising prices. The railroads, trying to make up their 35-billion-mark deficit of 1921, raised their rates, and the railwaymen demand that their pay be increased to compensate for the skyrocketing prices. German workers feel that the burden of reparations falls most heavily on them and demand ever heavier taxes on capital—which capitalists like Stinnes somehow always elude. Hence the bitterness, the impossibility for the impoverished Government to add the 50 billion marks asked to the railway budget, and the inevitability of such strikes. The suffering today is Germany's; but its causes and its consequences reach far beyond her borders.

GANDHI sends word to America that Lajpat Rai, who has many friends in this country, has begun a hunger strike as a protest against intolerable prison conditions. Seventy-nine political prisoners have joined with him. *The Nation* has welcomed English condemnation of our treatment of political prisoners. By the same token we assert not merely the right but the duty of Americans to protest not only against ill-treatment of political prisoners but against the policy which fills Indian jails with men like Rai. Such repression has not defeated the Indian Nationalists. Indeed, meager dispatches indicate that civil disobedience, which has long been discussed, has actually been formally begun in two or three of the districts where the severe preliminary requirements which Gandhi laid down have been fulfilled. The efforts of the Indian Moderates to persuade the Viceroy to abandon repressive measures seem to have failed. With what violence will he meet non-violent civil disobedience? The whole world is concerned in the answer.

THE documents in this week's International Relations Section conclude a history that in real life is not yet at an end. They tell the story of Japan's long-continued and deliberate depredations in Siberia—depredations which will continue because the Washington Conference has done nothing to put a stop to them. The history, printed in *The Nation* this week and last, was compiled by the delegation at Washington of the Far Eastern Republic out of the materials in its possession; its background is the bitter experience of the last four years, and its substance is a collection of documents of all sorts in which Japan has shown her hand. One important document, however, has been omitted from the exhibit; this is the agreement signed by Japan and the United States in the summer of 1918 in accordance with which each country set 7,500 as the number of troops it should send to Siberia for the purpose of "defending the Czecho-Slovaks." The agreement had hardly been signed when Japan mobilized an army and put 50,000 troops in Siberia before the United States landed a single soldier. Later the Japanese forces were increased to 80,000; and the agreement with the United States was dropped into the capacious waste-basket with the other scraps of paper.

THE opening of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague on January 30, little noticed as it was, was a step toward world peace as important as any of the achievements of the Washington Conference. For six centuries men's minds have been groping toward such a court. The Permanent Court of Arbitration established after the First Hague Conference, with its panel of judges from which the litigants might select, competently handled the seventeen international cases that came before it, but the attempt of the Second Hague Conference to establish a tribunal with permanent judges failed despite the leadership of the American delegates. The new court, with its eleven judges chosen by regional groups in the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations, carries on the tradition of the Hague. That America, its spiritual father, holds officially aloof from it, is a tragedy that has its roots in her justified opposition to the Covenant of the League and the Treaty of Versailles. Despite our official isolation Elihu Root helped mold its statutes and John Bassett Moore is one of its judges—and as international jurists they more than hold their own in any court or council. Adequate machinery for pacific settlement of international disputes is now for the first time in the world's history at hand; but, as Professor Manley Hudson comments in the *Harvard Law Review*, "machinery and the intelligent use of it will not insure the world against departures from justice according to law. The will for peaceful adjustment is needed, and its creation depends upon the deeper mainsprings of national life"—and upon the economic structure of society.

TO play to audiences ranging from 5,900 to 9,000 was the privilege of David Mannes and a selected symphony orchestra at four free concerts held at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City in January, thanks to the generosity of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The great entrance hall of the Museum was never intended for such a purpose, the orchestra being compelled to play in a lofty gallery in which the brasses were too resonant. There were, moreover, seats for only a couple of thousand persons. Yet thousands stood for two hours, or sat upon the stone floors, hundreds out of sight of the players in adjacent rooms, and never was there better order or decorum, and never clearer proof that the people do want good music. True, the bulk of the auditors were of those pesky and uncultured folks, our foreign-born, but the second and third generations have plainly not had their love of real music Americanized or jazzed out of them. To look down upon the mass of their upturned faces was to feel a thrill not readily forgotten, so profound and communicable was the earnestness of the audiences and so impressive the setting in the greatest of our museums.

Kentucky is excited over a bill to prohibit the teaching of Darwinism in the schools; Wilbur Voliva, the Overseer of Zion City, Illinois, announces that the earth is flat and that the sky is a solid dome.—Press Item, February 2.

BETWEEN the Blue Grass and the Cumberland
Behold the rural virtues take their stand,
When in Kentucky half the legislature
Lays down the law and history of Nature:
Upholds the Book of Genesis and rules
The creed of evolution from the schools.
The zeal of simple souls! But what a pity
They do not go as far as Zion City!
There Voliva the Prophet by fiat
Informs his followers the earth is flat,
The sky a dome, and sun and moon and stars
Hang high or low as Heaven's avatars.
While Torquemada somewhere winks at Moses,
Columbus, Newton, Darwin thumb their noses.

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The Arms Conference: Its Balance Sheet

"WASHINGTON has been a success. Its inestimable value for us depends very little on the treaties and agreements which result from it. It will live in our memories as the occasion which definitely, and we believe finally, consolidates the friendship between the American and English people"—thus Mr. H. N. Brailsford cables from London to the Baltimore *Sun* and his words were anticipated by Mr. Henry W. Nevinson of the *Manchester Guardian*. If these two staunch liberals are right, if all danger of war with England has been allayed, then the Conference called by President Harding becomes indeed one of the most memorable in the history of mankind. To that view we are unfortunately not able to assent. It is our deliberate judgment that the Conference has accomplished great good if only because it has ended the naval rivalry between the United States, Japan, and Great Britain. Unfortunately, *The Nation's* memory reaches too far back in the past to permit it to ignore the fact that under what appears the calm surface of the relations between England and the United States are certain eddies and cross-currents which another Venezuelan message like that of President Cleveland might bring boiling to the surface.

But while we cannot be facilely optimistic, nor ready to take everything that has happened at its face value, we are only too happy, in assessing the achievements of the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments, to admit that there has been a definite limitation of naval armaments for which we would withhold no just word of praise from President Harding, or from Mr. Hughes, or from Senator Borah, whose pertinacity and wisdom compelled the Conference, or from the Conference itself. It may be that we have achieved only an inch of the ell of disarmament for which the whole world is aching; we may have taken only a first step, made the more easy because of doubts as to whether the battleship has any future value or not; but for every advance in the right direction at a time when the whole world seems bent on suicide we give thanks with full and grateful hearts. That may prove us gullible and foolish, easily imposed upon and ready to assume that good has been achieved where there has been only a cynical going through the motions; but such is our feeling and truth compels us to record it.

Not, of course, that any large part of that has been accomplished for which *The Nation* year in and year out appeals. This journal believes that there can be no safety for mankind until the sanctity of human life is acknowledged by states as well as by individuals, until the commandment "thou shalt not kill" becomes even for nations more than an empty creed. It is well aware that Washington has laid no ax to the roots of the tree of evil, that it has ignored all causes of the disease of war and dealt merely with one or two symptoms. Yet we would rather have had these symptoms treated and certain evils abated than to have had no effort made to combat the malady. We ourselves, as we have repeatedly said, are not interested in modifying or ameliorating war itself. It is an abomination beyond human defense or excuse, the sum of all evils, the total of all villanies. We stand with the London *Economist*, organ of that British finance which has so often been blood-stained in its economic imperialism, when it declares that "the friends of peace will be more profitably employed in endeavoring to remove the causes of war than in attempting to render it a humane and gentlemanly pursuit." We are not inclined, therefore, to count Mr. Root's resolutions forbidding submarines to attack merchant ships and outlawing poison gas as achievements of weight on the credit side of the Washington Conference's ledger. Yet in setting forth what the Conference has accomplished we shall endeavor not to be blinded by our own ardent desires so little realized.

So we believe that the limitation of battleship-building for ten years is a long step forward. It does end that naval rivalry which in *The Nation's* series of articles, No War With England, running from April 20 to June 22, 1921, we characterized as one of the gravest causes of friction between the United States and the British Empire. Nor is it to be waved aside as a mere scrapping of obsolete ships. For besides ending the race in battleship-building it has done much to stop the concomitant naval competition between Japan, England, and ourselves, which could have had only one conclusion. The future replacement battleships are to be of 35,000 tons only; that ends at once the building of larger and larger dry-docks and of greater navy-yard equipment and, probably, of bigger guns; puts an end to the talk of the necessity of larger locks at Panama to accommodate the sea-monsters of the future. More than that, a definite limit is set to the size and number of aircraft carriers—those monster vessels planned to release a hundred miles off the coast an evil brood of airplanes to bomb cities scores of miles within the enemy coast defenses. And with this there is set a definite number of submarines (they ought rather to have been wiped out) which the naval rivals may possess, the size of cruisers is limited to 10,000 tons, and the guns to 8 inches only—a size to disgust every naval officer who ever set foot on a battleship or studied Mahan.

Who can measure the psychological effect of all this? Will not the world gain immensely by ending one country's spying upon another, and by stopping the rivalry in sea monsters carried on even in our illustrated dailies and weeklies? They will not be able to record the launching of a single dreadnought for years to come. It is a deadly blow at the glamor of the naval profession and it puts definite limits to the navy's apparently unlimited power of self-propaganda. For this we not only give thanks to Mr. Hughes who took the lead; we gratefully acknowledge the part played by Great Britain; *Punch* does not exaggerate when it depicts Britannia as laying the sword of naval supremacy upon the altar of disarmament. Who would two years ago have believed it possible that England would agree not only to a naval holiday, but also to the principle that our fleet should be as large as hers? The mere threat of Germany's equaling the British fleet made war inevitable; yet Mr. Brailsford reports that this sudden abandonment of the "age-long British claim" to complete naval supremacy has not even excited an outcry "from the fanatics of patriotism." Who shall deny that we have gained the inch? Or that this should be an inspiration to go further, now that the Irish Free State exists, to help remove other causes of friction and hostility and misunderstanding between the United States and Great Britain?

Similarly it is all to the good that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance seems ended—if a modified Four-Power Treaty

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accepted; and the agreement to build no more fortifications on the Pacific together with the definite limitation of the Japanese navy has undoubtedly decreased the possibility of war between us and the Mikado's people. Some naval authorities privately aver that our promise not to fortify Guam or any other islands we may purchase or steal in the Pacific renders totally impossible the prosecution of war with the Japanese. We hope it is so; yet candor compels us to say that wars depend upon other things than these and that the Japanese and the United States are not nearer but further apart by reason of the Conference. Since it is the truth that makes us not only free but able best to deal with awkward problems, it is on the credit side of the Conference's ledger that we must place a clearer vision of the sinister and often cruelly oppressive character of Japanese imperialism in China and Siberia. It is well, too, that we have had the revelations of French fear, misrepresentation, and unabashed political imperialism, together with their refusal to cooperate in the main objects of the Conference, which darkened the picture at Washington and gravely intensified the growing feeling of bitterness and hostility between English and French. Unhappy as these revelations were, they alone would have made the Conference worth while, for their educational effect was of enormous value. Thoughtful America is now well out of the sentimental war-time idealization of the French. M. Briand and M. Viviani have enabled us to assay and to understand better the powerful political elements which, although we believe them unrepresentative of the French people themselves, yet succeed in retarding the economic recovery of Europe. It is rare that speeches carry so far and so precisely in the opposite direction in which they were intended as those of the French delegates. M. Sarraut's final *apologia* is at least proof that there has come to the remainder of the French delegation an appreciation of the fact that it is sometimes dangerous to play home politics at a gathering beyond the seas.

This clearer understanding of what the Japanese military rulers are at in Siberia and in China ought not to be a cause of additional suspicion and hatred, but rather a reason for further pity for the Japanese people who are so badly led. Not in decades does such an opportunity come to a nation to gain the confidence and friendship of another as Japan had to win America in Washington. True, the Japanese delegates return home with many apparent successes. The Four-Power Treaty is a feather in their cap; the cessation of their naval and fortifications race with us leaves them freer to devote themselves to their policy of aggressive imperialism in Asia; they have given up Shantung but kept a string to it; they have been left undisturbed in Siberia despite the publication of the Chita documents as to the essential truth of which there can be no doubt; their position in Manchuria and Korea is unshaken if not confirmed, and what they have conceded as to the future freedom of China can only be measured by their performance of their pledges in the years to come. But if they have obtained these successes, the delegates leave for Japan without luster or new honor. They fought the progress of the Conference at every point, with stubborn, meticulous, pettifogging resistance, yielding seldom and only under pressure. Their insistence on the retention of the Mutsu has probably condemned the British tax-payers to expend $90,000,000 unnecessarily. At all points they have shown themselves incapable of a generous gesture. Apparently as unable as the Germans to understand or to make use of the psychology of other peoples, the Japanese delegates have increased the longing for revolution and a new order in Japan so that there may come to the front other men and other morals under which no such violation of Japan's written word can take place as has occurred in Siberia. It was a grave fault of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour—throughout the English have raised no finger to block Japanese aggression on the mainland—that the Conference was deaf to the pleadings of the Siberians. What restrained them might well have been in part their own uneasy consciences. Japan learned her imperialism, economic and political, from Western teachers. The Japanese have only to remind Americans of their exploitation of Negroes and immigrants at home, of their occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo, and their refusal to recognize their neighbor Mexico whose government is more stable than the Chinese; they have only to speak to the English of India, of Egypt, and of concessions in China to make Anglo-American statesmen stumble in commending a virtue they do not practise.

But whatever the explanation the Pacific Question is not settled; and it will not be until Japan is checked, until Korea, Siberia, and Manchuria are freed again. It may be that a revived Russia will apply the remedy; for the present it is the duty of honest public opinion the world over to keep up the pressure upon Japan. Why has she yielded as much in Shantung? Because the opinion of the world was so unanimously against her as to make it possible for the Washington Conference to make of the Treaty of Versailles a scrap of paper so far as the Shantung clauses were concerned. That sacredly unalterable treaty which no French politician would permit to be touched where the money end of it is affected is breached and shattered by this new agreement.

China plainly has been only the step-child of the Conference—the Japanese effectually blocked revision of some of the concessions put upon her by force and fraud. But the laying before the world anew of China's plight is one of the great educational achievements of the gathering. And it is after all precisely in its educational worth that the real contribution of the Conference to world peace and disarmament is to be found. For a few weeks after Mr. Hughes's memorable opening the attention of the world was concentrated upon Washington and upon the question of a normal peaceful life for nations. The value of that cannot adequately be gauged; in a degree it can, however, be measured by the fact that it has greatly accelerated the movement for disarmament in this country where now few dare seriously to urge that universal military service and complete preparedness which it was the pose to advocate only a few years ago. Disarmament is the fashion once more. Disappointed as liberals must be that the Conference has achieved no more, that it has left land armaments wholly untouched, and that it has failed to scrap all naval armaments as it could so easily have done, let it be written down in truth that here in America it has helped to reverse the current of popular feeling, and this in shorter time than anybody had dared to hope. Abroad it has improved some international relationships and injured others; but it has proved that one of the greatest obstacles to a world in peace is the hardness of heart, the stubbornness, and the stupidity of men in high power who neither trust in themselves nor in humanity, nor believe in the teachings of the religions they pretend to serve and uphold.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

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Taxes and the Constitution

NO matter how many patriotic societies he may belong to we have yet to meet a taxpayer who thought he got his money's worth out of the Government. Nor has any organization ever suggested a patriotic code to contravene the time-honored principle that it is a duty the taxpayer owes himself to pay as little as possible. Rich men in the United States have been wonderfully aided in carrying out this principle by the fact that all municipal and State as well as some Federal bonds are exempt from Federal taxation. Although these bonds carry a lower rate of interest than industrial securities they are very much more profitable investments to the richest of our fellow-citizens because income from them is not subject to the tax, ranging up to 50 per cent, which they would have to pay upon income from other securities. Secretary Mellon has recently estimated that there were at least $10,600,000,000 of outstanding tax-exempt bonds.

In some quarters these bond issues have been attacked as the chief reason for our industrial depression because they have diverted into government bonds money that might have gone into active productive enterprise. That attack ignores the real reasons for hard times and overlooks the fact that the bonds have financed useful public work and thereby stimulated various industries. Yet it remains true that tax-exemption laws have created an unhealthy artificial market for bonds. Government bonds at a reasonably low rate of interest will always be an attractive investment for cautious investors and investors of small means because of their superior security. They do not need adventitious aids such as tax exemption. Indeed too favorable a bond market may encourage governmental extravagance and still further discourage the pay-as-you-go policy which even now is too little honored by cities and States. But perhaps the worst evil of the tax-exemption policy is that it frustrates to some extent the attempt of Congress to place the heaviest burdens of taxation on the very rich and makes more difficult the adoption of a sound policy of taxation. The recent campaign for the abolition or drastic reduction of surtaxes would have lost half its point if it had not been possible to argue that the chief effect of the surtaxes was to drive capital into non-productive bonds.

Obviously the sound way to remedy this evil is to prevent income derived from government bonds escaping its fair share of the tax burden. Unfortunately, this is a matter which probably cannot be settled by the mere passing of a law. The decisions of the Supreme Court make it clear that neither any State nor the Federal Government has the power to place a tax burden on an instrumentality such as a bond of the other. It is true that the Sixteenth Amendment gave Congress power to tax income "from whatever source derived." The New York *World* maintains editorially that Congress can, therefore, tax income from State bonds. But the Supreme Court has said in an *obiter dictum* that the effect of the amendment was to remove the original constitutional provision requiring Congress to apportion direct taxes (among which are income taxes) among the several States in proportion to population. The implications seem to be that when the question was presented to the court, it would hold that the amendment did not give Congress power to lay a tax burden on such a vital instrumentality of State sovereignty as a bond issue.

To meet this situation Representative McFadden has introduced a resolution proposing the following constitutional amendment:

> The United States shall have power to tax incomes derived from securities issued after the ratification of this article by or under the authority of the several States to the same extent that incomes derived from securities issued after the ratification of this article by or under the authority of the United States are taxed by the United States. Any State shall have power to tax incomes derived by residents thereof from securities issued after the ratification of this article by or under the authority of the United States to the same extent that incomes derived by residents of such State from securities issued after the ratification of this article by or under the authority of such State are taxed by such State.

Advocates of the amendment will have a hard row to hoe. State legislatures will not easily give up a privilege which facilitates floating the bond issues they authorize. But public opinion need not be reduced to impotence by this difficulty. Congress can expedite the passage of the amendment by the simple and constitutional device of providing that it shall be submitted not to the State legislatures but to specially chosen constitutional conventions. These would be more likely to consider the proposition on its merits, as citizens rather than as officials interested in marketing a particular sort of bonds. A citizen votes for or against Tom Jones for the legislature for any of a dozen reasons unrelated to constitutional amendments. He will vote for or against him as a delegate to the convention solely because of his attitude on the amendment. Our system of legislation gives all too much opportunity to compact minorities to dictate to timid politicians—witness the American Legion and the bonus. It is still worse when constitutional amendments are passed or defeated according to the strength of a compact group and not according to the sober choice of the great body of citizens. This may be the case whenever an amendment is submitted to the legislatures.

American Biography

WHEN will the Carnegie or the Rockefeller or the Roosevelt or the Wilson or some other such foundation realize that the United States needs a new dictionary of national biography and needs it very badly? The biographical dictionaries which we already have are without exception antiquated, and no one of them was ever undertaken on a scale commensurate with the task. The chances are remote that any commercial publisher will turn his hand to such a work, in view of the large investment which would be required and the certain delay—and probable total lack of any profit. The obligation consequently rests either upon the Government or upon some establishment designed not for profit but for the national good. Though the Government ought to meet this obligation, as a part of the public service, it has never shown much willingness to spend money for memorials so useful and so inconspicuous to the outward eye. But the various foundations, as they do not exist for profits, also do not exist for votes or by the favor of administrations. We shall probably have to look to them for a national biography or go without.

All the elements in the nation could agree upon the value of the undertaking. The most fervid patriots would find in it at once a memorial to the American past and a compliment to the American present. The different sections of the

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country would unite with enthusiasm in a scheme to bring into one great central book the records of their local heroes. Political, racial, religious minorities would welcome the admission of their various protagonists to this form of equality with the majority. The arts, the professions, the trades would take pride in their respective showings and would thrive upon it. The work would be a mine of useful knowledge for all teachers and preachers and journalists and public persons interested in American affairs. And to foreigners it would interpret the nation as no narrative history is ever likely to do.

A dictionary of this sort might be an immense encouragement to scholarship. If strict rules of accuracy and impartiality were laid down by the editors and then adhered to they would furnish a valuable discipline to the numerous specialists by whom the actual writing should be done. Here would be a focal point to which could be drawn an enormous bulk of energy now dissipated or put to trivial uses. Moreover, one of the certain results of any competent prosecution of the scheme would be to rescue from loss or practical oblivion a mass of materials upon which the research would have to be based. There is always a tendency to forget or to gild the conditions under which the nation rose. The frontier, for instance, has been a persistent fact coloring the entire American achievement, and the principal Americans have most of them been in some fashion or other shaped by it. Yet the frontier is passing, if it has not entirely passed, without leaving any proper record, studied in the lives of individuals, of its intensely individualistic career. To establish a spacious dictionary of biography would be to bring to light thousands of manuscripts now buried in unlikely places.

It need hardly be said that unless the foundations of the dictionary were laid out on the most generous scale it might as well not be attempted at all. Opinions are cheap, but facts are costly. A sufficient sum of money would have to be found to sustain the editorial board for years, possibly, before the first volume could appear, and there should be an endowment to keep the undertaking alive not only while the initial labors were being done but afterward, when supplements could periodically be issued to keep the record up to date. Nor need it be said that the intellectual scale must be as generous as the financial. Eminence of every significant kind would have to be recognized without reference to the particular prejudices of this or that editor or contributor. It would be difficult, of course, to combine due tolerance and due criticism in the entire performance; there is no chance that mistakes would not be made and vexed censures not passed upon this or that detail. All history, since it must be based upon generalizations, is liable to error. But biography, concerning itself in a particular degree with the sources, the essential documents and starting-points, of history, avoids many of the larger dangers. With adequate support and with intelligent direction it can go as far in the direction of the truth as any form of record ever devised.

Doubtless no one questions the importance of a corpus of national biography, whether regarded as a memorial, as a boast, as an object-lesson, or as a guide to the future; the question is merely whether it can be afforded. We estimate that the price of one battleship would be enough to found and endow a dozen such enterprises and that the Government annually wastes a hundred times what would be needed. We believe that any one of the foundations could raise the necessary sum in a year if they would put their minds to it.

Winter Spring

THERE is a hint of spring in this February air. Each succeeding thaw brings fresh mind-pictures of arbutus and hepatica. In this latitude of New York the few lean robins and song sparrows that have braved the winter in sheltered swamps well stocked with berries and tall weeds pipe tremulous echoes of last year's song. Bewildered by the warm sun, yet only half deceived, their throaty voices, far enough from the full-toned flutes of April, May, and June, yet hold a thrill and a promise to the stray wanderer in February woods.

Those same swamps hold other promises of spring to come. Long before the pussy-willows peek out upon the world, the willow stems take on a new fresh green. Red osier clumps gain a new warmth and fire from the thawing air. The melting snow discovers thistle rosettes and green leaves of shepherd's purse that were there in bleak November but which in February seem to give new life to the barest field. The ice, breaking up, discloses long trains of water-weeds as green as in midsummer. Any prolonged thaw may bring a wisp of chickweed or an adventurous dandelion into premature bloom. And on some wet southern hillside the mid-February thaws surely bring the cowled monk of earliest spring, the much-maligned and ill-named first flower of the year, skunk cabbage, into full bloom, and gather about it a host of bees buzzing as lazy a tune as in sultry August. It has been safe above the soil since October, to be sure. Long ago Thoreau paid his tribute:

> Mortal and human creatures must take a little respite in this fall of the year. Their spirits do flag a little. There is a little questioning of destiny, and thinking to go like cowards to where the weary shall be at rest. But not so with the skunk cabbage. Its withered leaves fall and are transfixed by a rising bud. Winter and death are ignored. The circle of life is complete. Are these false prophets? Is it a lie or a vain boast underneath the skunk-cabbage bud pushing it upward and lifting the dead leaves with it?

And at the first warm breath of distant spring it pushes higher, takes on living streaks of red, opens the tiny flowers within the cowl (the Italians call its Riviera cousins *capuccini*), and sends forth the queer sticky odor that gives the plant its evil name, but which is as sweet to the bees as any rose or violet.

It is not alone. Red maple buds expand visibly in thaws, and all manner of buds, which have in fact been waiting on their twigs all winter, seem to swell. Behind their sticky wrapping the tiny fingers of horse-chestnut leaves lie full-formed, and inside myriad mitten-covers miniature tulip-tree leaves are hidden as perfect in form as the great leaves of July. There is more winter to come, but these buds and flowers trust in ultimate spring.

The seasons of man are slower-moving and less certain. The winter in men's hearts is hard to thaw. The first flowers of human springs may be as awkward and ill-smelling as skunk cabbage. The men who feed Russia still curse her, but they feed her. The Washington Conference may leave snow and ice behind, but it has helped to thaw; Genoa will not bring summer but it will mark another stage in the melting. We may hope that even in this February of the world we breathe the faint tremor of spring. Each spring differs from the last, but some spring—with cold winds and harsh rains but also sun and blossom—always comes.

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Haiti and Santo Domingo Today—II

By ERNEST H. GRUENING

IN the Dominican Republic the situation is simpler than in Haiti. Where the Haitians suffered from the betrayal at the hands of Sudre Dartiguenave, the Dominicans were fortunate in having as their President Dr. Henriquez y Carvajal, a man of rare integrity, statesmanship, and patriotism. Moreover, the Dominicans had had in May, 1916, when the Americans invaded their country, the advantage of six months' observation of the execution of America's promise to Haiti of "no aim except to insure, establish, and help maintain Haitian independence."[1] In consequence, though America tried precisely as in Haiti to force a humiliating and enslaving treaty upon the Dominicans, they refused to sign.[2] Where in Haiti today a dummy government carries out the Occupation's wishes, a constant potential wedge to split the Haitians, in Santo Domingo absolute unity exists.

In the Hispanic Republic, where there is no vestige of national government and the Occupation derives its only sanction from brute force, where, further, the archbishop and all the priests are Dominicans, the church is strongly patriotic. In Haiti, on the other hand, a Concordat with the Vatican established in 1860 provides that the church must sustain the Haitian Government (as indeed it is the church's policy to sustain constituted authority everywhere) and that the government must support in turn the church. A special clause provides for the blessing of the Haitian president by name after every high mass. Whatever, therefore, may be the original force and fraud upon which the present Haitian Government rests, it is for the time being the legally constituted authority. Moreover, the Haitian clergy is not national. Archbishops, bishops, and a great majority of the priests are French and their interest in Haiti's nationalism is quite naturally less keen than if they were natives. Nevertheless, the Occupation was at first not viewed with favor by the clergy, as indeed it is not today by many of the priests. Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Williams testified before the Senatorial Commission that he believed some of the Haitian countrymen were inspired by the priests to make complaints of brutal treatment, and that the relations between the American officers and the priests were officially unsatisfactory. This feeling he believed was largely due to the influence of the bishop of North Haiti, Monseigneur Kersuzan. Bishop Kersuzan a few months ago celebrated his fiftieth anniversary as a priest in Haiti. The Occupation has, however, made valiant efforts, especially since attention was first called to Haitian conditions a year and a half ago, to capture the clergy. Whereas, previously, the church had suffered directly from the Occupation,[3] every attempt was now made to conciliate it. Priests' salaries were raised. The sacristan of the cathedral at Port au Prince told me personally that the Occupation had promised to put a new roof on that edifice, the present roof leaking badly after the severe tropical storms. This he said would be done without expense to the church "by the Occupation," which means, of course, at the expense of the Haitian people. And today, while the church does not and will not officially and openly run counter to the prevailing national sentiment by indorsing the Occupation, it cannot and will not, as the church in Santo Domingo, oppose it.

The Dominicans also profit by their membership in the great Hispanic-American family of nations. Protests against the treatment of Santo Domingo and its citizens have come from Spain and from virtually all South American countries which are bound to Santo Domingo by ties of race, culture, and language. Hispanic America sees in both Haiti and Santo Domingo an augury of a possible fate. But its encouragement and sympathy have naturally gone to the country which speaks the same language. The Dominican morale has thus received constant sustenance and is also better, no doubt, because of the gestures of withdrawal that Washington has made. In their last days in office the Democrats had made overtures looking toward retiring the Occupation. Last May the "Harding plan," as it is called by the Dominicans, was presented with a flourish. As it turned out to be merely a device to legalize the situation and under the guise of withdrawal to make Santo Domingo virtually a subject state, the Dominicans refused to touch it. Their cooperation to the extent of holding elections was essential. Today the attitude of the Dominicans is unchanged. "We will sign nothing," is their watchword. "If necessary we will remain in slavery a hundred years, but never will we sign away our birthright."

At present, however, largely because withdrawal has been in the wind, conditions are better than in Haiti. The sense of oppression so evident in Port au Prince is lacking in Santo Domingo. I cannot speak for the interior, which I did not visit and where, I was told, the rigors of martial law still fall heavily upon some of the inhabitants. But in the capital I witnessed an easy banter between the provost marshal, Captain Fay, who is highly esteemed by the Dominicans, and the editors of the *Listin Diario*, which has valiantly upheld the national cause. In an affair at the private house of a Dominican which I attended the orchestra was composed of marines. Both these situations would be unthinkable in Haiti. Moreover, I found among Dominicans a friendly attitude toward the military governor, Admiral S. S. Robison, of whom I heard only kind words—a good impression which I looked forward with pleasure to reporting, but which unfortunately was marred by an eleventh-hour incident I witnessed.

It was the day of the Senatorial Commission's departure. The sub-chaser carrying the Senators and their wives had just slipped away from the dock bound for the transport Argonne lying under steam in the harbor. A second boatload containing newspaper correspondents and other personnel of the Commission was about to follow. Mr. Horace G. Knowles, counsel for the Dominicans, came hurrying to the wharf. He was formerly American minister to Bolivia, to Serbia, and to the Dominican Republic, a Roosevelt appointee. He had come with the Commission but was staying behind a few days to collect additional evidence. How the Occupation hated Knowles! He had committed the unpardonable crime of criticizing it and of taking the part of the Dominicans. (How little they understood that he had

[1] From Navy Department radio on August 7, 1915, signed "Benson *Acting*."
[2] The sequence of dates is significant. The Haitians finally yielded to military pressure and signed the treaty on November 11. A virtually identical treaty was handed to the Dominican Government on November 18.
[3] Under the Concordat, church accessories were admitted duty free. The Occupation abolished this exemption and replied to the protest by saying that the *United States* admits no distinction between religions!

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really been taking the part of America!) As he leaned over the boat to hand the official stenographer a letter for Senator McCormick he was, according to his account, pushed aside by the Commission's liaison officer, Captain Day, U.S.N., and told he could not send it. A lieutenant commander who was present told me later that Knowles's conversation had delayed the boat and that he had been *politely* requested to remove himself. But when he attempted to remonstrate Admiral Robison stepped up from behind and in thundering tones overheard by not less than fifty people shouted: "Get out of this; get the hell off this wharf!" Knowles withdrew and the Admiral proceeded to tell his entourage: "We've seen enough of that man around here; I've got no use for him. Any man that will make the charges he has, has no right here." Later in the day, Mr. Knowles told me subsequently, he was summoned by the governor to headquarters. On telling the provost marshal who conveyed the order that in the circumstances he did not care to call on the Admiral but would be at his hotel should the Admiral desire to call upon him, he was informed that he had better come; that otherwise the provost marshal's orders were to take him to the palace by force. Mr. Knowles went. It is regrettable that he did so. It would have been interesting to find out just what rights an American citizen has in a country where our alleged justification for conquest is "to protect American interests," and how far our militarism can stage its own Zabern with impunity. Moreover, a couple of days previously the Admiral had told Captain Angell, who accompanied the Commission, that but for the fact that Mr. Knowles was there by Senatorial courtesy he would have deported him.

This episode was more illuminating than pages of testimony. Occurring to a man of Mr. Knowles's position in the presence of Americans, particularly of newspaper men bound for home, with the Senators barely out of earshot, it furnishes a clue to the fate of those who incur the displeasure of the military Occupation. What happens to the poor devils of natives who are voiceless, helpless, and without means of redress can well be imagined. As a matter of fact, Admiral Robison's proposed treatment of an American citizen is in line with Occupation policy. Americans have been deported unceremoniously. Needless to say if questions are asked they are generally slandered and labeled undesirable citizens; but the reason for their deportation is almost invariably antagonism to the Occupation. An American woman resident in Santo Domingo told me that, burning with shame over the acts of certain individuals in the Occupation, and profoundly unhappy over the oppression practiced in the name of the American people, she had repeatedly resolved to write to various persons and to newspapers in the United States, but had invariably been deterred by the fear of deportation. Her husband was in business in the country and she did not feel justified in jeopardizing his safety and future as well. While I was in Port au Prince an American marine, a former gendarmerie officer, was ordered deported. He had been detailed to the prison at Port au Prince and announced that he had intended to testify about some of the cruelties practiced there. Just before the Commission's arrival his deportation order, which had been published in *Le Moniteur*, the official organ, was held up. When I saw him again he said he knew neither why he had been ordered deported nor why the order had been suspended, that he did not intend to testify, and that I had misunderstood him when he said he would.

Of course what goes on behind the scenes the four Senators neither learned nor cared to learn. Their minds were obviously closed. I do not want to imply the slightest doubt of the sincerity of any of them; but the absurd anomaly of having one of the parties to a controversy act as jury, judge, yes, and executioner, must be self-evident. The only proper or possible way to have the case of Haiti or of Santo Domingo *vs.* the United States justly settled is to have some disinterested third party—Denmark, Belgium, Uruguay, the A.B.C. Powers, or the Irish Free State—act as arbitrator. The same fallacy on a smaller scale was subscribed to by the Senators themselves when they solemnly urged all those whom they had not time to hear to report their grievances to the respective heads of the Occupations. As for the Senatorial astigmatism it is also true that the investigation has been foreshadowed for a year and a half and that conditions had been pretty well cleaned up in both republics, where relative quiet exists today. Testimony was general that *The Nation's* campaign of exposure had brought about a decided lessening of many abuses which had existed.

I have in my possession a copy of a confidential order issued from "Headquarters" at Santo Domingo City on September 10, 1920, which reads in part as follows:

> Officers of discretion will be instructed to spread a bit of propaganda here and there in a very careful and discreet manner so that it may not appear that it is being done officially. Present and past conditions may be compared along many lines, the aims and ambitions of the government explained. A few specially chosen officers might sound some of the people on the question of annexation, merely by conversation telling the people that in 1876 the majority of Dominicans desired annexation and asked for it, but that our Congress refused it because we did not know the country and the Dominicans as well at that time. Certain people who seem to be receptive could be induced to spread the idea by showing them how much better situated they would be today had they been part of the United States for the past forty years. Conditions in Porto Rico, the Philippines, and even Cuba could be cited as examples.

The order is signed by Colonel George C. Reid, U. S. M. C., commanding officer of the Guardia Nacional. I showed it to Senator Pomerene just after he had finished addressing with much sound and wind a great patriotic gathering of Dominicans. He had told them that he had learned of a few misguided persons who believed that the United States had annexationist designs on their country but that there was no basis whatever for such belief and that he had never heard the subject mentioned in Washington. I supposed that since he was there to investigate he would be interested in learning about this order issued by the third highest officer in the island, the highest American military official in direct contact with the Dominicans. But he merely replied that it was the act of an individual and had nothing whatever to do with American policy. Senator Pomerene is back from his flying trip and is probably thinking more of his campaign in Ohio next fall than of the Dominicans. But the Occupation which issued the order "in a very careful and discreet manner, so that it may not appear it is being done officially," stays on. It stays to perpetuate the six years of martial law upon an always friendly and inoffensive people, and it will stay on according to the verdict of the McCormick-Pomerene Commission until Santo Domingo comes to terms and signs on the dotted line. For less than a week after its return the chairman of the Commission gave out an interview that the *status quo* would continue in Santo Domingo until the proposals of last spring were acceded to.

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Meanwhile three great American banking houses are "negotiating" for a loan with the Haitian "government." Each of these loans is based on the convention of 1915 and further hog-ties the Haitian Republic for a period of thirty years. Negotiations were already under way before the Commission went to the Caribbean. Senator McCormick was in favor of that loan from the beginning and insists upon it now. The Haitians neither want nor need the loan. But the Occupation wants it, and American high finance needs it. Once it is consummated and only the thin resistance of Dartiguenave the Docile stands in the way, needless to say we shall *have* to stay in further to protect "American interests," the interests of the National City Bank of New York, of the Sugar Trust, of King Cotton, of the horde of carpet-bagging concessionnaires that are the camp-followers of American militaristic imperialism.

Waste in Business

By EDWARD EYRE HUNT*

The curse of mankind is not labor, but *waste;* misdirection of time, of material, of opportunity, of humanity.—Dr. M. O. Forster, British Association for the Advancement of Science.

THE Report on Elimination of Waste in Industry may mark an epoch. Already it has given organized labor confidence in industrial studies in the United States, made under impartial auspices, and it provides a basis for genuine cooperation in future between labor and management, instead of the pseudo-cooperation which consists in labor's lying down and playing dead at the will of the employer. One of the Committee on Waste, George D. Babcock of Peoria, Illinois, says the report is the most important engineering document dealing with industry since the management papers of Frederick W. Taylor.

Now what is this report? It is the work of a committee of seventeeen engineers named by Herbert Hoover, who unanimously state that the relative weight of responsibility for waste in certain typical industries is as follows:

	Management	Labor	Outside Contacts
	%	%	%
Men's clothing manufacturing	75	16	9
Building	65	21	14
Printing	63	28	9
Boot and shoe manufacturing	73	11	16
Metal trades	81	9	10
Textile manufacturing	50	10	40

One of the greatest wastes is from low production. This is due to faulty management of materials, plant, equipment, and men; not to faults of labor. What engineers call "faulty control" of material, design, production, cost, and labor, lack of research and defective sales policies lie in the domain of management and probably rank next to general industrial depressions in their waste of materials, time, and human effort.

Defective control of design results in a major waste, since it prevents standardization of product. In the building trades, for example, while the standardization of buildings is not generally practicable or desirable, certain details readily lend themselves to standardization. If certain walls were made of a uniform thickness it would mean a saving of some $600 in the cost of the average house. Standardized mill-work, such as window frames, doors, and other similar items, would also mean considerable saving.

Among current American magazines there are eighteen varieties in width and seventy-six in length of page or column. Among trade publications there are thirty-three different widths and sixty-four lengths. Even among newspapers there are sixteen widths and fifty-five lengths. The standardization of newspaper columns to one size would make possible an annual saving of from three to five million dollars on composition and plates alone.

The Committee did not attempt to write an academic definition of industrial waste. Furthermore, it felt no call to put the blame on any individual, group, or class. It believes that the wastes in industry today are inevitable results of methods, tactics, and relationships of long standing. Industrial waste as understood by the Committee is that part of the material, time, and human effort expended in production represented by the difference between average attainments, on the one hand, and performance actually attained on the other, as revealed by detailed field reports. How much will have to be done to lift average plants to the level of exceptional plants in each industry is suggested in the following table, giving a comparison of plants in various industries:

	Ratio of Best to Average Plants
Men's clothing manufacturing	1:2
Building	1:1½
Printing	1:2
Boot and shoe manufacturing	1:3
Metal trades	1:4½
Textile manufacturing	1:2½

In reporting that more than 50 per cent of the responsibility for waste in industry can be placed at the door of management and less than 25 per cent at the door of labor, the Committee had no intention of minimizing labor's share in what is obviously a common task. It reveals much for labor to do.

In the building trades, for instance, some painters' unions do not permit the use of a brush wider than four and one-half inches for oil paint, although for certain classes of work a wider brush is more economical. Lathers have attempted to impose a rule that twelve bundles of laths shall constitute an eight-hour day's work. Formerly the output was sixteen bundles. Plumbers' and steam-fitters' unions prohibit the use of bicycles and vehicles of all sorts during working hours. Members of these unions in some sections of the country demand that all pipe up to two-inch shall be cut and threaded on the job. Brick masons insist on washing down and pointing brick work when laborers could do it more economically. Structural steel workers under certain rules must bring the steel from the unloading point to the building site, thus doing laborers' work at high cost. They also place reinforcing steel for concrete, whereas experience has proved that properly trained laborers can do the same work to good advantage and at greatly reduced cost.

A union rule in newspaper printing offices requires that

* Secretary of the permanent organization resulting from the President's Conference on Unemployment.

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all advertising matter coming into the plant in electrotype form must be reset by the compositors. This useless work of recomposing the advertisement is sometimes done weeks after the original has appeared in the paper—an absurd waste.

Labor is responsible along with management for improving the health of the workers and for preventing accidents. What this means is shown by the fact that on an average each of the forty-two million persons gainfully employed in the United States loses from eight to nine days annually from illness, and that in one year alone (1919) there were 23,000 fatal accidents in industry and 575,000 non-fatal accidents causing four weeks or more disability. Periodical physical examinations and medical advice often result in substantial improvement in the health and well-being of workmen. In some cases, however, there exists a strong prejudice against such examinations and as a result of this unfortunate attitude many workers live in sub-normal health when their condition is easily remediable.

Herbert Hoover's introduction to the Waste Report says:

It reveals facts which may serve as a foundation for an advance in American industry. It has a special message for government officials, financial, industrial, and commercial leaders, labor organizations, economists, engineers and research groups, the general public, and the press.

An extraordinary series of activities have already resulted. Such technical groups as the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the Society of Industrial Engineers, the Industrial Management Council, the Federated American Engineering Societies, the Associated General Contractors, and the United Typothetae of America have made its findings the subject for their meetings this fall and winter; chambers of commerce in several cities are also studying the report; and a great amount of technical interest has been aroused in collateral fields such as cost-accounting and industrial medicine. The Department of Commerce has inaugurated methods for determining and putting into practical effect industrial standards, publishing these as a code of practice. Definite results have already come about in the field of printing and an exploration of possible areas of standardization in a variety of fields has been undertaken by the industries concerned, with the hope of presenting the results at conferences called by the Department of Commerce. On November 17, for example, fifty-five out of sixty-six varieties of vitrified paving brick were eliminated by mutual consent of manufacturers and users at one of these conferences.

The Conference on Unemployment which was recently held in Washington was also, in a sense, the result of the engineers' study of waste in industry. The most important waste, as that study emphasized, is that of human and material resources in periods of depression, such as the present, and the report stresses the necessity for detailed study of the business cycle and of the causes of and remedies for unemployment. It also recommends close study of successful steps already taken to stabilize industry. These matters were taken up in the Conference on Unemployment and several of them are to be the continuing study of the organization which was set up by that body. At least one of the important resolutions passed by the Conference was inspired directly by the Waste Report:

We recommend a definite program of action that will lead to elimination of waste and more regular employment in seasonal and intermittent industries, notably in the coal industry, in order that the drain upon capital may be lessened and the annual income of workers may be increased.

The report of the Committee on the Construction Industry was also directly inspired by the careful study of this industry in the Waste Report.

In the boot and shoe industry in the factories of Rochester, New York, the workmen have proposed making the report on waste in the shoe industry the foundation for a change in method on both sides, under the impartial chairmanship of the engineer who made the report for the Waste Committee.

In a nutshell, this report offers to American industry a basis for genuine cooperation between management and labor, such as has not yet been and apparently cannot be afforded in any European country today. For better or for worse, Europe has taken the path of the class struggle. A basis of economic cooperation there seems out of the question. But in this country, where the issue has not yet crystallized and where the labor movement is not yet fighting for control of industry, where the role of management has been immensely advanced by the work of such eminent engineers as Frederick W. Taylor and Henry L. Gantt, there is still time to work out a new basis, if we can create the public will to see it through.

The Committee does not believe that strikes and lockouts are going to be done away with and that the millennium is about to dawn as a result of its recommendations, but it does believe that vast amounts of preventable wastes which benefit nobody and embitter everybody lie exposed to intelligent attack and that this attack is a cooperative undertaking and is going to benefit all. One of the tragedies of so-called labor struggles is that neither side knows the facts. We can eliminate waste only by putting more and more science into business, and taking out of it the fears and hatreds which are the result of ignorance rather than ill-will.

In the Driftway

THE other day the Drifter's eye chanced upon a very brief news item. It read: "Mr. S. E. Stokes, American, was arrested today under orders of the Punjab Government for his activities in connection with the Non-cooperation Movement." The words carried the Drifter's mind back some fifteen years, and he remembered how impatiently he had waited outside a plague and smallpox camp in the city of Lahore for the coming of this same man Stokes. For days before the Drifter had heard little else among Americans and English than their stories of this queer American and his deeds. He had come to India as a free lance missionary, a modern St. Francis. He had insisted on living, as nearly as might be, as the Indians lived. He had nursed at a leper hospital and had nearly lost his life of typhoid fever. Now it was reported that he was coming to the plague hospital to take care of a friend. The "Sahibs," American and English alike, were inclined to be critical; though they admitted the real sincerity of the man, they doubted his wisdom. So the Drifter waited to see him, but he waited in vain, for Stokes did not come before the Drifter was obliged to leave. Later, in another Indian city, he learned that Stokes had entered the camp. And from bearded Sikhs he heard praise of Stokes as the most religious white man they had ever seen.

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FROM that time until today the Drifter heard no more. Now he learns that in time Stokes moved up to the hill country, married a Rajput wife, and has six children whom he has brought up Indians to such extent that they have not learned a single word of English. This religious zealot saw in the war a holy crusade. He became naturalized as a British subject and joined the army, winning distinction by his zeal for recruiting Indians. The peace brought disillusionment, and the Punjab atrocities turned this American into a disciple of Gandhi and an apostle of non-cooperation. In what spirit he preached this national gospel appears from this extract from an article of his published just before his arrest: "If we fight with the ignoble weapons of pride and hate and prejudice we are undone, even if we win a sort of unmoral victory. If we fight in the spirit of true nobility, God and eternal justice fight for us and the victory is certain. So fighting, even defeat is victory." By such a road has this son of well-to-do Philadelphia parents been brought to a British prison in the far-off land of his adoption. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Letters to the Editor should ordinarily not exceed 500 words, and shorter communications are more likely to be printed. In any case the Editor reserves the right to abridge letters.

Mr. Taft's Decision

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Arizona restaurant case recalls the fact that when Arizona under the enabling act of 1910 prepared its constitution to entitle it to be admitted to the Union as a State, it had in that constitution among other progressive laws the recall. This recall had general application, and under it judges as well as other State officials could be recalled from office.

Mr. Taft was then President of the United States and refused to admit Arizona to the Union as a State on the ground that her constitution did not establish (in his opinion) a republican form of government, which is the requirement of the national Constitution as to States. So, as we recollect it, Arizona had to reconvene her constitutional convention and remove the recall from its proposed organic law. Then President Taft proclaimed Arizona a State of the Union. Immediately Arizona organized her State government, recalled her constitutional convention, and reinserted the recall provision in her constitution. She had power to do this as she was then a sovereign State of the Union.

In the five to four decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the restaurant case above referred to, it can be seen that Mr. Taft's vote was the effective one in holding that Arizona's law preventing the issuance of writs of injunction in labor disputes was unconstitutional.

Albuquerque, N. M., January 18 JACKSON JEFFERSON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of January 11, under the heading Does Mr. Taft Want Direct Action? you say: "Hereafter no State legislature, nor even Congress, can prescribe rules of conduct in this field of human relationships without the chance of an irreversible veto from the Supreme Court." Permit me to call your attention to Paragraph 2, Section 2 of Article III of the Constitution of the United States, where the second sentence reads: "In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

Quite contrary to general opinion Congress has the constitutional power to regulate the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. If Congress wished so to do it could deny jurisdiction to the Supreme Court concerning any law it might pass, simply by appending an order of denial. So there is a fourth alternative open to labor, namely, the electing to Congress of men who will put the common welfare above personal aggrandizement. But men of this type are not plentifully in the open, and labor has apparently many years yet to live before cutting its economic and political wisdom teeth. But there is the alternative.

Grand Forks, North Dakota, January 10 A. D. BUSH

[If the question were ever presented to the Supreme Court, it would probably hold that it could not be ousted of jurisdiction in constitutional cases, because if it were the legislature would be made supreme and the theory of the separation of powers violated. Even if the court did hold itself ousted of jurisdiction, the power to throw out acts of Congress on constitutional grounds would probably still reside in the inferior Federal courts, a situation which would be worse than the present state of affairs because of lack of uniformity; we might have laws constitutional in some districts and unconstitutional in others.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

The Limit

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: According to the New York *World* Commissioner Enright, head of the New York police, says that there is no such thing as the "third degree" and that New York policemen do not "beat up" prisoners to extract information. If Commissioner Enright had said: "The 'third degree' is right and proper and justified," at least a few people would have believed that. If he had said: "The New York Police Department can be intrusted with the use of such a dangerous and brutal power," some innocent souls would have believed even that. If he had even given his assertion a limit like this: "The 'third degree' is not often used. Complaints are exaggerated. Policemen are sometimes cruel and brutal, but not often"—then quite a number of optimistic, trusting people would have believed him. But when he says that there is no "third degree," then nobody believes it, not even his wife—and he himself does not believe it altogether.

Just before Commissioner Enright said this I had met a man in Harlem who had been stopped by policemen on the street two days before and asked if he did not know that Luther Boddy was a "stick up" man, and if he could not tell of some of Boddy's crimes. When this man failed to give them any useful information he was beaten instanter, according to his written and acknowledged statement, corroborated by his black eye. He was not even arrested or conducted to the police station. It would seem that the police are preparing a case—and woe to the man, otherwise known to be a crook, if he shows an indisposition to help them.

A member of the city government, whose name I have not asked permission to use, says that the police heads of one station explained to him thus frankly: That it would not be possible to get information from some of the crooks if they did not use force; that when they know a fellow to be a crook, they give him a wallop on the jaw and make him talk up, for the "crooks are cowards" (especially so, I suppose, when the policeman has a night stick and a gun and public sentiment, while the crook has only a criminal record and perhaps a pair of handcuffs on).

Why not at least frankly admit that our theories of personal liberty and our principles of justice seem to be untenable in the

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warfare between the police and the lawbreakers and suspects—just as our ideals of civilization and our spirit of Christian charity break down when we march to war on a foreign country? Some policemen overstep the bounds of the civil law—and many officers and soldiers overstep the wide boundaries of even the martial law. We suspend the Constitution in war, and some policemen suspend it when it gets too much in their way. Whenever a fellow is known to "have a record," or is strongly suspected of lawbreaking, there is a feeling, not only in the police but also in some of the rest of us, that the safeguards of human liberty were not made for the likes of him.

New York, January 22 WM. PICKENS

Revised American History

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My attention has been called to your editorial article in which you disport yourself over the emasculation of American school history in several textbooks recently revised in the new spirit of British-American amity. Your humor is beyond me. Accustomed to observe you ordinarily treating trivial matters with ponderous gravity, I am amazed and confused to see you suddenly treating a really grave matter so trivially.

You seem to be regarding the Anglicized alterations as a rich joke; but I can't see where the laugh comes in. To be sure, Revisionist Everett Barnes makes no mention at all in his textbook of Faneuil Hall, "the cradle of liberty"; the Boston Massacre, the Mutiny Act, Nathan Hale, Ethan Allen, Anthony Wayne, or William Lloyd Garrison, while devoting a full page to praise of Benedict Arnold. But where is the joke? In teaching such American history to our children I see no more joke than in putting poison in a well.

Seven revisionists give seven different sets of reasons for the Revolution, all conflicting with the definite reasons assigned in the Declaration of Independence. They have denatured the causes until the Declaration would appear a falsehood and the Revolution a farce. School-children studying these propagandized books can learn only scorn for the old-fashioned notion that it was British tyranny our patriot fathers resisted and for the true ideals and principles upon which our republic was founded.

Confessing to "emotions of a new-found gratitude to England," one of these revisionists teaches that "the American Revolution was a contest between German tyranny and English freedom"; another teaches that the Continental Congress was made up of "selfish, unworthy, shortsighted, narrow-minded, office-seeking, and office-trading plotters"; two of them present John Hancock as a smuggler and a smuggler only, with no mention of his great services to the patriot cause; such victories as those of Ticonderoga, Saratoga, New Orleans, and Paul Jones's capture of the Serapis are belittled; France's aid is attributed to selfish diplomacy alone; the War of 1812 is pronounced "a mistake" and "the unfortunate war between the sister nations of the English tongue," and it is declared that 'not until the younger generation has learned to distinguish between the English freedom of 1775 and the slavery that they may have from Prussia will America return to that unsuspecting confidence in the mother country which is vital to the future progress of democracy throughout the world."

Revisionists Hart, O'Hara, Ward, Everett Barnes, Guitteau, McLaughlin, and Van Tyne, in their histories in the public schools of many States, not only diversely pervert and distort, jumble and confuse, minimize or omit many of the vital heroisms, principles, ideals, incidents, and purposes of the Revolution, hitherto held sacred in American history, but all unite in close conformity to a topical outline adapted to the promotion of British-American union.

CHARLES GRANT MILLER

Staten Island, New York, January 20

Peter

By ANN HAMILTON

Peter is a plain lad
  With a strong will.
He never looks behind him
  When he climbs a hill.

There are many others
  Equally as wise,
With as much sparkle
  In their young eyes;

But once Peter traveled
  Over foreign lands
And brought back perfume
  In his simple hands;

And when I breathe its fragrance
  Exotic and rare
I think first of Peter
  And his red hair.

The Roving Critic

THE Cosmic Ironies sat on a bright island in the midst of the Galaxy, holding a caucus over the universe's affairs. Boötes flamed, Orion glowed, Scorpio glittered, Ursa Major sulked, Eridanus sprawled and yawned, Canis Major and Canis Minor eyed each other distrustfully, Centaurus and Pegasus huddled close and whispered at intervals. Boötes, it appeared, had just been speaking, and there were still reverberations of his great voice in the ether, while the glare of difference or assent with which he had been greeted by his fellows played upon him from every quarter and illuminated the enormous scene, now red with fire, now blue with space, now opaline with the shifting moods of the Ironies.

Into this circle, before one of those present had had time to break the meditative silence, came a brisk invader in burning yellow who walked round the seated group and was obviously chagrined to find that no place had been kept for him.

"I say, brothers of the universe," he began, "it seems to me this committee has been closed long enough. It needs new blood. One of you move over and let me in."

If any heard him, at least there was no sign. The reverberations of Boötes's words traveled farther away and the light from his listeners gradually ceased playing upon him; but the charmed occasion was not apparently disturbed.

"Well, it doesn't seem very hospitable. I sent word I was coming, and look how you receive me. And, as they say on the Earth, I think it isn't representative. The Solar System has a right to be here and a right to be heard. Perhaps we are a little younger than some of you, but that excuse won't hold forever. Youth, as they say on Jupiter, is no crime."

Somewhere a star exploded and threw a momentary brilliance over the caucus, so that the gems on the brows of the Ironies sparkled as if they were actually Betelgeux and Aldebaran and Spica and Arcturus and Capella and Sirius and Altair. None of the brooding figures started at the explosion, however, much less at the accusations of the Solar Irony.

"Have I got to repeat all I told you before about the ironic work I and my helpers have done in the Solar System? I must say I am tired of telling it. You ought not to close your minds the way you do to new inventions and discoveries. The first thing you know you'll all be so out of date that this radical doctrine about the moral government of the world will spread and

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ruin all your schemes. If you don't wake up pretty soon it won't matter whether you ever wake."

From one of the Ironies a red glow and from another a blue flame and from yet another a white radiance swept around the circle as if looking to see who would speak next, but, settling upon no one, they mingled in the center and there rested quietly, splashing the pavement with gorgeous colors.

"Take what's going on in Mars today if you want to test my right to sit in this conclave. I have bilked the Martians into thinking that their everlasting messages to Earth are understood. So those philanthropists have wasted a mountain of treasure making instruments to carry their pompous flashes, and they babble wisdom into the void—as if their wisdom actually mattered or as if Earth would or could pay any attention to it if it ever reached there! You strike me as glum enough, but if you could only see the prophets and poets crowding around that transmitter and pouring all they have and are into it, and then going back to their business with the thick smirk of a duty performed—if you could see that you would laugh a month. That's what I've done in the Solar System: I've trained the higher beings to prattle wisdom till they are hoarse and then not to practice it any more than if they were deaf and had never heard of it."

It may have been some vibration of sympathy which ran through the Ironies or it may have been merely deeper thoughts stirring them to resume the huge discourse.

"For that matter, take Earth alone as evidence of what I can do when I try. The scrawny race of bipeds who think they manage Earth have come up from the slime by the exercise of their wits, trampling the slower races under their heels for thousands of years to make a bare living, and yet, now they have explored all the paths of Earth and dug up its riches and learned to cultivate its fruits, they are acting as if they couldn't imagine any better future than to take the path back again into the slime. But do they listen to even the petty wisdom a few of them have got at? No, they strut about as they always have, blown up with pride that they are human and not like the other beasts which they have driven into the wilds or else made into slaves. Man, proud man! You should see him. And I have taught him both to be all this and to admire himself. Now why can't I come into the caucus?"

Surely something was stirring in the moods of the Ironies. Ursa Major, who had been almost gray in his sullenness, darted awakened glances around the circle, coruscating, it seemed, with thought. Orion sent out an iridescent gleam, fanned by quicker and quicker breath. The whole place grew so bright that each ironic countenance shone in comparison with the waves of the Galaxy which beat upon the island.

"But I have done more than all that to win my seat. Those same bipeds, who have been clever enough to map and weigh the stars, have made them gods in their own scrawny image and have laid out heavens on the plan of their desires. And I have taught them to lay the blame of their follies on their gods and to call the consequences their just punishment; I have taught them, moreover, to endure whatever comes, no matter how much the fault of men, in the confidence that they will shortly die and be born again into a world which will make good their wrongs and agonies; I have, in fact, persuaded that tiny race, on its mortal star, that it is the heart and heir and purpose and crown of the universe."

Now for the first time the great silence was broken by bursts of laughter which shook the zenith and perturbed the Galaxy. From each of the giant faces leaped rays of fearful brilliance, revolving like wheels, interlacing in an ineffable net of light. The Cosmic Ironies rocked in their seats with mirth, smote one another on knee and shoulder, tossed their giant arms in paroxysms of delight, and shouted genial invitations to the candidate.

The Solar Irony stepped forward and sat down between Canis Major and Canis Minor, who unhesitantly made room for him.

CARL VAN DOREN

Books

The Old Religion

The Witch-Cult in Western Europe. By Margaret Murray. Oxford University Press. $5.65.

THAT the superstition connected with witchcraft was the religion of heathen Europe, surviving through many centuries of Christian culture, is the thesis speciously sustained though not satisfactorily proved by Miss Murray. This religion had its deities, its priests, its organization, its sacrifices, its sacraments, its initiations, festivals, and rites, fully developed and showing a remarkable continuity from the earliest notices of it in classical authors till the last of the witch trials in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

The two principal deities were a god and a goddess: the god, though inheriting the attributes of Janus, universally called Satan or the Devil by his followers and enemies in Christian times; the goddess inheriting both the characters and names of Diana or Hecate and of Hulda. Frequently the god took the form of a human being, or was impersonated by his chief priests; frequently he was incarnate in an animal, one of the familiar spirits that appear so often in the trials.

The essential part of the initiation ceremony was a renunciation of Christianity, and particularly of baptism, a covenant with the devil sealed in blood, and a mark put upon the body of the neophite, sometimes the scar of a bite, sometimes identified by the Inquisitors with the anaesthetic spot or with the supernumerary nipple or nipples occasionally found on persons of either sex.

The greatest of the four festivals was the night of April 30, made famous by Goethe's Walpurgis Night, and, as connected with the fairies, by Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream," for, in spite of the title, the action of that play is repeatedly said to take place on the eve of May Day. The other great feasts were Hallowe'en (October 31), Candlemas Day or "Groundhog Day" (February 2), and Lammas Day, or the eve of August 2. At these times the adherents of the witch-cult were said to meet in open groves and to celebrate their Sabbaths—the word usually derived from the Biblical day of rest, though Miss Murray maintains that the two are etymologically distinct.

Enough of the ancient enchantment is on us yet for almost everyone to conjure up in his mind the scenes that took place at these assemblies. First we see the old beldam gathering herbs in the moonlight by her cottage on the edge of the forest, while beside her a weird black cat arches its back and caterwauls to the haunted silence. Then the witch croons over her horrible cauldron, prepares herself an ointment of drugs which enables her to bestride a broomstick and to fly out into the wilderness. She seeks a grove of oaks or pine-trees, magic-mad, and there, with her sisters and with the devils, indulges in a parody of the mass, for, so the grave doctors taught, as Christ had his sacraments the devil had his unsacraments or "excraments." This was followed by an orgy of feasting, dancing, and promiscuous sexual intercourse, which Miss Murray rationalizes as the survival of the fertility rites common to so many primitive cults.

Attractive as is the thesis which accepts and explains everything related in the documents about the witches, it cannot be accepted for the simple reason that it is based on an uncritical use of the sources. Miss Murray actually takes at their face value all the confessions wrung from the accused under torture. She ignores the historical fact that no progress in witch-hunting was made until the use of torture was introduced. The confessions represent not the actual experiences of the victims, or even their delusions, but the ideas of the inquisitors and reformers who suppressed them. There was, indeed, a live coal of folk-superstition at the bottom of the people's minds, but it was blown into blaze by the men who started to put it out.

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Miss Murray is unfair to the doubters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fact is that the skeptics included all the better minds of the time who started to investigate the facts without theological prejudice. She forgets to mention Montaigne, who made a special investigation of the subject, and came to the conclusion that there was no basis of fact behind the popular beliefs. She sneers at Reginald Scott, an English justice of the best type, far more to be believed than the authors of the "Witches' Hammer." Jean Bodin, it is true, one of the most rational men of his generation, supported the persecution with a zeal that won him the title of "Satan's Attorney General." His theory was nearly that of Miss Murray; he hardly accepted the supernatural more than does she; but he believed that he was dealing with an organized religion. His reasoning was vitiated by the idea, common to contemporary French law, that the truth could be extracted by torture. Michelet, in "La Sorcière," also advanced a theory somewhat like that of Miss Murray, but more cautiously. Her book, like his, is written with such charm that it almost sweeps the reader into acceptance of its position, but it is probable that few students of the same subject will be found to agree with her. Some of her most daring suggestions, such as that the fairy lore told of an actual dwarf race, akin to the Lapps, and that Jeanne d'Arc was really a witch in her faith, and not a Christian, are perfectly unconvincing.

PRESERVED SMITH

A New Pilgrim's Progress

Alexandersen. By Harald Bergstedt. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

"ALEXANDERSEN" is a most extraordinary book, and it can't ever be published over here, and it's almost impossible to tell what it is about, and still one can't help trying.

To begin with, Alexandersen sits on his table in a little town on a little island and sews. Alexandersen is a tailor. But he's no benighted tailor. He yearns out into the wide world away from the petty rivalries of the town where a frivolous shoemaker has upset all the effects of Alexandersen's years of careful uplift. He can't stand the trivialities any longer. He wants to go to wherever the great authors, artists, and statesmen are living. He must find the real meaning of life.

We are told in an aside that Alexandersen can't get away unless he is provided with a magic carpet. He gets it, and departs on it, taking with him only a lunch basket and his housekeeper, the acid spinster Torbine. They land in a village in far, sinister woods where the people are dominated by a missionary innkeeper, who preaches at them and kills for cannibalistic consumption those who can't pay their debts to him. A bitter and gruesome satire, with a terrible knowledge of cant. The cannibal missionary steals Alexandersen's magic carpet and all his money. The worst is going to happen the next morning, when that night two wolfskins, hanging on Alexandersen's wall, clamor to inclose the two travelers for a year. They consent, and "like two streaks of lightning the wolfskins jumped off the nails, threw themselves on Alexandersen and Torbine, crawled over them, crammed them together till their bones cracked, surrounded them with the greediest wildness, and pressed them hard and brutally into the shapes of two long bristling wolves. With loud mad yells, in panic animal fear of four walls, they rushed out of the window, out on the road in the light of the full moon, and chased away, stretching in long jumps, away into the terrible country of the wolves, with a joy so lithe and fiery that the loose old nerves and sinews of Alexandersen and Torbine had never known anything like it."

The wolf year is soon up, and during it the two wander far away to a palm-crowned city where they resume human shape and where most of Alexandersen's heroes and heroines are living. These discover him as "such an original"—actually a tailor because he likes to work, and poor from choice. They invite him to a banquet of the Academy of the Immortals, and there he hears for the first time what his idols really think of their own lofty public sentiments and of the rest of mankind. It worries Alexandersen, and he proposes that they all start out and have a good look at the world to see if they couldn't have been mistaken. They laugh indulgently and come along.

After several remarkable adventures they meet the annual autumn procession of youth. They also are going out to see the world, followed by the cries of their elders: "Dear children, take good care of your money, and swear on your knees you'll never forget your childhood faith or sit thirteen at table!" The pilgrims join this sparkling, singing, flirting throng that soon drifts into the highway of life where the smells are very bad, and people quarrel horribly about opinions. Most of the pushing, cursing crowds on the highway of life take boats for the City of the Flesh. There they find beauty and passion and wine, but after a while their pockets are as empty as their bodies are full of aches, and then they rush for boats going to the City of the Spirit. Alexandersen is impressed with the piety in this city, until he discovers the underpinnings, the hoaxes, and the buncombe. Also that the chief evangelist is none other than the cannibalistic missionary. He rushes with this scandal to the millionaire who runs that lucrative enterprise the Mountain of the Spirit, and is told to shut up, told he is too innocent to live. Doesn't he know that all these Immortals now dragging around with Alexandersen are living on endowments forked out by the millionaire whose chief showman the cannibal is? Alexandersen had suspected something rotten through too close association with his Immortals; still he puts up with them a little longer. All except Alexandersen say that they have been converted in the City of the Spirit, and now for penance they want to pay just a little visit to the City of Death.

In the City of Death, through which flows the river of death and forgetfulness, Alexandersen sees the ghosts of those who can't descend into the river, because the world won't let them be forgotten. He has some talk with Socrates and Napoleon, and a bewildering and beautiful conversation with Jesus. Then he goes back to the land of the living, together with the Immortals, who by now are heartily sick of this inconvenient idealist. While he was away the Great War has been going on, and he comes back just in time to meet the statesmen of the earth gathering for the peace conference. This finishes the remnants of his delightful ability to be impressed. Alexandersen wants to go home. The night after he has watched the peace conference posing for a group photograph his soul is so disgusted and depressed that it takes a little jaunt away from his sleeping body. It has a few entertaining experiences. But meanwhile the shoemaker, whose lack of seriousness first drove Alexandersen out into the world, has been staying in the same hotel, and his soul is out for a jaunt too. Alexandersen's soul, coming back in a hurry, gets into the wrong room and into the shoemaker's swollen body. Vice versa with the shoemaker's soul, which finds itself in the thin body of the tailor, thinks it has delirium, and hangs itself.

Alexandersen now spends some time sawing wood until his new body is better than his old, finds his magic carpet, takes Torbine, and goes back to the village where he marries her. They have children, and Torbine has ambitions for them. She says she wants them to rise in the world.

"Rise in the world?" said Alexandersen. "Flies and bubbles, let them rise in the world! If there were a few more wise shoemakers and tailors the world would stand a little more firmly than it does now."

"But," said Torbine, "people don't think much of those professions."

"Well, better begin to think more of them yourself, then," said Alexandersen, "and don't let the boys hear all that nonsense and whining."

"Oh, well," said Torbine, "after all, we have to consider other people's opinions about things a little."

Then Alexandersen opened his eyes gaily. His whole world pilgrimage slid past him. "Others!" he cried, and his eyes were filled with tears of scornful joy. "My children aren't go-

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ing to trot along in a flock and fetch their opinions from others!"

And that's the end of "Alexandersen." The humor and scorn and beauty of it can't really be conveyed. It is a great satire, great because under his mocking fancy Harald Bergstedt loves the poor fools he is scourging. But it can't ever be published over here. It is not genteel. SIGNE TOKSVIG

Proletcult

Proletcult. By Eden and Cedar Paul. Thomas Seltzer. $2.

EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL, in this little book on Proletarian Culture, combine history, description, and philosophy. They give a brief but very useful account of the rise and growth of working-class education from the early Working Men's College founded by the Christian socialists, down through Ruskin College, the Workers' Educational Association, and the Adult Education Movement, to the latest experiments of the Central Labor College and the provincial labor classes. All these undertakings are surveyed from the standpoint of absolute and unconditional proletarian communism. As the reader may imagine, those schools that are even tainted with "bourgeois idealism" are handled without gloves. The authors abhor uplift, earnestness, social solidarity, and undenominational goodness. They are willing to admit that some of the bourgeois who aid the cause of "labor education" are reasonably honest, but still the "mid-Victorian educational activities were the gifts of conscience-stricken members of the bourgeois class, the gifts of persons willing to do anything for the workers—except get off their backs." When the motive was not sensation-hunting, it was the slumming lust. Education in colleges, universities, public and private schools, and state schools, our authors hold, "has the definite aim of promoting the maintenance of the existing order." This, however, they do not regard as the outcome of a deliberate policy, "for our capitalist rulers are less intelligent than communists are apt to believe."

Against all "bourgeois culture" the Pauls set their faces like flint. They regard so-called "general culture" as a purely class heritage. "There is no culture for the 'common people,' for the hewers of wood and the drawers of water." There is no such thing as "scientific" or coldly non-contentious economics or sociology. For these reasons there should be organized and spread abroad a new kind of education, "Proletcult." This, we are informed, "is a fighting culture, aiming at the overthrow of capitalism and at the replacement of democratic culture and bourgeois ideology by ergatocratic culture and proletarian ideology." After the great proletarian triumph, after it becomes possible to relax the dictatorship of the proletariat, this culture will become universal, as opposed to class, culture.

To the aid of this "new" education the Pauls summon psychology. They tell us that "the new psychology provides the philosophical justification of bolshevism and supplies a theoretical guide for our efforts in the field of proletarian culture. . . . Education is suggestion. . . . The recognition that suggestion is auto-suggestion and that auto-suggestion is the means whereby imagination controls the subconscious self . . . will enable us to make a right use of the most potent force which has become available to the members of the human herd since the invention of articulate speech. . . . The function of the Proletculturist is to fire the imagination, until the imagination realizes itself in action." There is no hope until these fundamental facts are recognized. "The industrial workers cannot have their minds clarified by an education which has not freed itself from all taint of bourgeois ideology." With the aid of the new psychology, the Pauls think, this taint may be removed. Hence they proclaim "the certain truth that proletarian philosophy will bring salvation to mankind." There is a valuable appendix containing a bibliography of books on labor education.

CHARLES A. BEARD

Drama

The Theater of the Mind

IT is a genuine pleasure to welcome Mr. Edward Goodman back among the producing managers of New York. As founder and managing director of the Washington Square Players it was he who first made the modern art theater a living force among us. He has had notable successors; it is well to see him return with undiminished energy and courage. He plans now to try the great and timely repertory experiment which is the one thing more that is needed on our stage.

He begins with John Galsworthy's "The Pigeon" (Greenwich Village Theater), the subtlest and, in its quiet way, the most incisive of the dramatist's works. Here Galsworthy still chooses a special case or, rather, special cases, to illustrate the social problems that trouble him so deeply. But he makes these cases so fundamental that the sociological pattern, a little too visible in certain of his pieces, melts into the larger patterns of the human soul itself. The wanderer, the prostitute, the drunkard—the three eternal extremes of the Dionysiac in man—ask by their being rather than by any words or actions what organized Christian society will do with them. Punitive justice fails. That needs scarcely any proof. But both moral and sociological reform fail as well. In ever new incarnations the immemorial types return. Society, as the wanderer suggests, can turn its face away and merely let them perish. But a Christian and humane social order cannot, on its own principles, do that. So it falls into the ugly contradiction of constantly desiring the outcasts dead and as constantly building institutions to keep them alive. It goes from one of these extremes to another without ever, like Galsworthy's Wellwyn, stopping to understand the outcasts and passing on from that understanding to love.

The dramatic idea is, after the manner of Galsworthy, somewhat too symmetrically set forth. There are three outcasts; there are three reformers; there is Wellwyn with his creedless—his friends think it unprincipled—understanding and love. This symmetrical method of presentation is saved from stiffness and from the didactic by Galsworthy's characterization. Here, undoubtedly, he has relied not on analysis but upon creative vision. Neither the flower-girl nor the drunken cabby have anything but their instincts. We are made to feel those instincts to that ultimate point which is inevitableness and therefore vindication. By a happy invention the eternal wanderer is a Frenchman with much of the Continental's heightened consciousness of the processes of life; by an equally happy one Wellwyn, though an artist and a gentleman, is instinctive rather than reflective, and finds his understanding of the outcasts by sharing their ultimate sources of passion, wildness, and delight.

Mr. Goodman has given the play a very delicate and intelligent production. It needed both discretion and eloquence; it needed to illustrate the idea and its logical pattern and yet to keep the rich human note from ever being hushed. In all these necessary respects the production is admirable. Whitford Kane, who originally created the part in London, plays Wellwyn with beautiful ease and true spiritual grace. By moments that are childlike in their graveness and puzzled helplessness he illustrates the understanding and love that is confounded by the technically learned, by the world and its dogmas, and yet confounds and transcends them all at last. Edna James is delicately wild and unsubdued; the nymph of the forest has not been wholly overlaid by the grime and sordidness of the streets; Hubert Druce is racy and humorous and sodden; Georges Renevant is timidly eloquent, saddened, and yet rebellious to the end.

A more massive play than "The Pigeon" is "The Deluge" (Plymouth Theater). It is the "Syndafloden" of the Swedish dramatist, Henning Berger. For years it has been part of the repertory of the great Continental stages. Mr. Arthur Hopkins, whose production in 1917 met an inaccessible public mood, does excellently well to revive it now. Massive as the play is it, too,

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is built around an idea—an idea, moreover, not so alien from that of "The Pigeon," namely, the unchangeableness of human nature. But Berger is grim and harsh where Galsworthy is mild and understanding. The reason lies primarily, of course, in the temper of the two dramatists; it lies also in the different facts concerning human nature on which they fixed their attention. The pursuit of ecstasy, whether through love or freedom or even wine, misses the necessary cruelty of the human pursuit of wealth and of victory. The outcast shares with the saint a carelessness of the world, the merely competitive and economic man nothing.

That competitive and economic man Berger found strikingly represented by types encountered during his stay in America. He gathers a group of such types and submits it to a searchingly cruel psychical experiment. The Mississippi is in flood. These men and one solitary woman are marooned for a night in Stratton's saloon in a city of the Middle West. They have every reason to think their destruction inevitable. Under the guidance of the lawyer, who alone possesses a spark of essential human grace, and softened, too, by unlimited whiskey, they find love, cooperation, brotherhood, and the necessity for these values which they have spent their lives in repudiating. But morning comes and with morning first the hope, then the certainty that they are saved. Except in the heart of the lawyer whose misgivings were not new, nothing remains to them of that night. The instincts of the beast of prey resume their mastery.

Mr. Hopkins evidently felt a little nervous over the play's naked forthrightness. The production is somewhat wavering in note and tone; conceivably, but only conceivably, comic moments are strained to the uttermost to provide relief where the intention of the dramatist lay in the very absence of relief. Yet the play remains a thing of chastening power. Mr. Robert Edmond Jones's set is superb. Several players are feebler and more ineffectual than Mr. Hopkins usually permits; R. E. O'Connor, Robert McWade, and Lester Lonergan, on the other hand, wring every ounce of value from Berger's magnificent characterizations.

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International Relations Section

The Japanese in Siberia—II

WE print below the concluding chapters of an official history of Japanese intervention published by the Special Delegation of the Far Eastern Republic to the United States. The first part of the story, which appeared in this section last week, traced the course of the struggle to the formal establishment of the Far Eastern Republic with its Government at Verkhne-Udinsk.

Soon after the conference of the toiling people had elected the Government of Verkhne-Udinsk, it was recognized by the Government of the Amur Province as the central government for the entire Far East (on May 25).

Afraid that the Maritime Government which had been recognized as the provisional government by Sakhalin might also extend its recognition to the Government of Verkhne-Udinsk as a central government, the Japanese began to exert on it an incessant pressure, not even stopping at threats and reminding them of the events of April 4-5. At the same time the Japanese also began to coquet with the Maritime Government, declaring it to be the only truly democratic government, and that Japan would recognize it if it would place itself at the head of all the provincial governments. . . .

In General Oi's answer of June 26 to the note of the Verkhne-Udinsk Government of May 31, [it was made clear that] . . . the Verkhne-Udinsk Government could be considered by the Japanese only as a local government and only in this capacity were they willing to start negotiations with it for the cessation of military activities. Further on, General Oi disclosed his real intentions with regard to Ataman Semionov: "I cannot consider Semionov's Government as a brigand lair of a band of mutinous troops; I recognize it also as one of the governments existing in the Russian Far East." . . .

XXVIII

While the negotiations for an armistice with the Verkhne-Udinsk Government were going on, and the Japanese were playing with the Maritime Government, not allowing it to recognize the Verkhne-Udinsk Government, their staff located in Sakhalyan (on Chinese territory, opposite Blagovyeshchensk), on the other bank of the Amur River, was continuously threatening the Amur Government in order to induce it to break away from Verkhne-Udinsk and join the Maritime Administration, recognizing the latter as the central government. . . .

XXIX

While the Japanese were conducting this complicated game, continuously diverting the attention of the Russian population and its authorities, they were at the same time preparing a new attack on the Amur Province. . . . We reproduce here the full text of two interesting and highly important telegrams [the authenticity is, of course, denied by the Japanese]:

War Ministry, Tokio, 6-12-1920,
Secret Order No. S1233-11.
To the Commander of the Siberian Army, Vladivostok:

After the events in Nikolaievsk on the Amur the Japanese Imperial Government considers itself compelled to issue the following orders, which may defend the Japanese interests in the Maritime and Amur provinces.

We order you to prepare a plan of military operations which must serve our interests in case of occupation of the territory along the Amur. In preparing your plan you must use the following clauses as a basis.

We recommend that the above-mentioned territory be divided into three military divisions. As the present political situation does not permit us as yet to send a large army for your disposal, we expect from your military experience and shrewdness that you will prepare the requested plan in such a manner that it will receive the approval of His Imperial Majesty. In order to aid you in your work, we will send you as soon as possible all the plans which have already been worked out in the Foreign Ministry and which provide for the necessary organization of civil institutions in case of occupation. You must immediately create a commission of officers of the general staff and commissariat, and send this commission to the above-mentioned territory, so that the commission may make valuable military and economic reports to you. Our interests also demand preparation of an offensive against Blagovyeshchensk, the outlying districts of which are full of regular and irregular partisan and bolshevist troops.

According to the reports of our agents who are in this territory, engaged in investigating this problem, the offensive is as yet premature. In any event you must have everything in readiness for an offensive, so that it could be started at a moment's notice The general interests of the Japanese Imperial Government demand that the occupation be carried out completely in the immediate future; therefore we order you to submit a plan of occupation within the shortest possible period.

Immediately after receiving this telegram General Oi addressed the following demand to the commander of the 14th Division in Khabarovsk:

Vladivostok Chief Staff,
Secret Order No. S-B242, 6-17-1920.
To the Commander of the 14th Division: . . .

Reply immediately by telegraph how many days would be required for the 14th Division to be ready for an offensive against Blagovyeshchensk. Do you consider the forces at your disposal sufficient for your operation? If you consider your present forces insufficient, report immediately so that I can dispose of the units which are expected from Chita.

I call your attention to the bridge across the Amur, as in case of an offensive our army may need the bridge. The preparation and repair of this bridge must begin immediately. If necessary occupy the local arsenal for this purpose.

According to your previous reports I expect that those Russians whom you mentioned will be very useful to us in case of occupation. In my opinion we will have a complete administration in the entire Maritime Province; therefore I order you to discuss your plans with reliable Russians. The names of the Russians who are ready to serve His Japanese Imperial Majesty are to be forwarded to me at once. (Signed) Oi

Thus after June 12, when instructions were given in Tokio regarding the preparation of an attack on the Amur Province, all Japanese activities, as far as the various negotiations were concerned, were undertaken with the sole purpose of diverting the attention of the Russian authorities from their real plans and intentions. The evacuation of Transbaikalia was prepared only in order to mask the seizure of the Sakhalin region. . . .

XXXI

On July 3, 1920, the following declaration of the Japanese Government was published:

In the period from March 12 to the month of May of the current year, in Nikolaievsk on the Amur, the local Bolsheviks in the most atrocious manner killed the Japanese defense detachment, the employees of the consulate, as well as Japanese residents, altogether about 700 persons, of both sexes and of various ages. This occurrence exceeds anything in its atrocity and brutality. In order to safeguard the dignity of the country, the Imperial Japanese Government is compelled to take the necessary measures. At the present time, however, there is practically no government with which it could communicate on this subject, and for this reason the Japanese Imperial Government is quite unable to do anything in this matter.

In view of the aforesaid, and until a lawful government be organized and the question favorably settled, those places in the Sakhalin district which are considered as requiring occupation will be occupied.

With regard to Transbaikalia, the Government, taking into consideration that at the present time the evacuation of the Czecho-Slovak troops from this region has already been completed, and relying on a declaration which the Imperial Government has already made repeatedly—has decided in this case to evacuate its troops from the indicated region. In Vladivostok, however, as well as in its surroundings, there exists not only a menace to Korea, and an inclination to take an unfriendly attitude, but there are also living in these districts numerous Japanese subjects.

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The city of Khabarovsk is an important point on the way to the Sakhalin district. Consequently the troops must needs remain there in adequate number until the time when stable and peaceful conditions will be reestablished in the above-mentioned localities.

XXXII

Frightened by the Japanese evacuation, Ataman Semionov, on July 11, applied to the heir of the Japanese throne . . . "to insist . . . before his mighty parent, His Imperial Majesty, on the cessation of the evacuation of the troops from Transbaikalia, at least for four months." . . .

To this petition of Semionov an answer was sent from Tokio through the commander of the Siberian troops, which was delivered to Semionov on August 11, at the Station Olovyannya. The contents of the answer are not altogether flattering for Semionov:

Tokio, War Ministry, 1920. 3/A.
To the Commander of the Siberian Forces:

The Japanese Imperial Government has considered your desire from every angle. The Imperial Japanese Government is grateful to you and wishes to maintain friendly relations, but the situation pressing upon us from all sides does not permit us to grant your request. The Imperial Japanese Government does not consider you sufficiently strong to carry out the great object which would assure a great future to the Japanese people. Your influence with the Russian people is growing weaker daily, and the hatred which the people have against you does not aid us in our policies.

The Imperial Japanese Government sounded the question with the Allied governments, but on all sides we found a negative attitude.

If you wish to direct your activities in another direction we will support them with great pleasure, but in accordance with the principles which are known to you. . . .

XXXIII

Although the Japanese made a declaration concerning the evacuation of Transbaikalia, they nevertheless insisted upon the signature of an agreement concerning the cessation of military activities by the Verkhne-Udinsk Government; the Japanese wanted to secure the position of Semionov after their evacuation. . . . The agreement is provided with a special and quite interesting note: "The troops under the command of Semionov recognize the present agreement, as is guaranteed by the representatives of the Japanese Expeditionary Army on the territory of the Far East."

The agreement was signed at the Station Gongota, on July 15, by the Japanese and Russian representatives. . . .

XXXIV

But let us return to the secret documents. The communication of General Oi to the commander of the 14th Division in Khabarovsk, dated July 12, reads as follows:

Vladivostok, 7-12-1920.
To the Commander of the 14th Division, Khabarovsk:

According to information, the local government has no force whatsoever at its disposal. The Communist Party is daily growing stronger, but this does not interfere with our plans, as the forces at their disposal are not sufficiently strong. Our people, who are compelled to work together with the local government, are ready to assume authority at any moment and to maintain the administration until the occupation is completed. . . .

The negotiations with Semionov will soon end. Semionov's wishes are easily satisfied, and we are only awaiting the sanction of His Imperial Majesty and the Government.

I have been informed by the War Minister that the general European situation makes it necessary for us not to carry out any of our plans during this month. The War Minister ordered me to exercise extreme caution and I order you to act likewise. Lately I have not been receiving from you any information as to what is going on in your district. Are our agents ready in the entire province? I order you to reply to me immediately.

(Signed) Oi. . . .

On August 2, General Oi sent decisive secret instructions to Khabarovsk.

Vladivostok, 8-2-1920.
Secret Order S/2428.
To the Commander of the 14th Division:

The offensive against the Amur Province must take place not later than the end of August. Your plans for the distribution of troops are approved. The left wing, which is distributed along the Usuri River, must be reinforced by one unit of sappers. The offensive must begin either from Usuri or Sungari. You must try to have the troops attack simultaneously. According to information in our possession the enemy's positions are strongly fortified, but the right wing, which is close to the Amur, is the weakest, so that your attack from that side could be successful and decisive.

Your desire that your operations should be supported from Sakhalyan[1] cannot be carried out because the political obligations to China do not allow it. We have taken certain steps in that direction, but without results.

It is evident that negotiations with the Semionov forces will not bring any results; these troops are also beginning to be poisoned with the bolshevik virus. By order of the War Minister, our aim must be as follows: irregular and bolshevist troops must be driven out from the provinces which are to be occupied. If our attack should be made with lightning speed, we shall have the benefit of routing these troops in one month, and they will scatter in the direction of Chita. You must exert all efforts that during the offensive the commissars and the prominent Bolsheviks may fall into our hands, so that we can finish once for all with the danger which threatens us from the Communists. Report immediately if there is anything that you need for the offensive, so that I may immediately execute. (Signed) Oi

. . . But all of a sudden the whole situation changes and Tokio orders a retreat. On August 4, the War Ministry gave General Oi [the following] instructions:

Tokio, War Ministry, 8-4-1920.
A Secret Session. S/466.
To the Staff of the Siberian Expeditionary Army Vladivostok:

The Japanese Imperial Government is compelled to adopt the following decision:

The general European situation, the victories of the Soviet Government on the Polish front, the growing danger from the Soviet Government, the noticeable antipathy on the part of the United States and China, the steps undertaken by America in the question of Sakhalin, the general preparedness of the United States for war, the secret agreement between Soviet Russia and Germany—compel us not to carry out our political projects in Siberia completely.

The desire of the United States that Japanese troops should evacuate Siberian territory immediately has become a very serious problem and this problem demands extreme caution on our part.

The strong influence of Germany in China threatens us with the loss of influence.

All these problems compel us to adopt a waiting attitude. Any premature steps may ruin all our great plans. The present situation compels us to give up the plans of occupation in Siberia for some time, remaining intrenched, however, in those territories where our troops are located. . . .

The operations against the Amur Province must cease, but the troops must be held in readiness, as the danger from that side is still very great. The growing Communist influence which we notice in every step of the present government makes a very unfavorable impression on us and on our people. We order extreme caution so that the germs of bolshevism should remain isolated, as we do not know what the results will be of the secret conference which is to take place shortly between the Allies regarding the Siberian question.

We order the War Ministry to base all their actions in accordance with our decision of today. We order it to exercise extreme caution in military problems, as caution is essential in the affairs of the Siberian army. We order the War Ministry and its officers to be extremely careful regarding the Communist Party, which creates more obstacles than anything else to our plans. We order the War Ministry to make this decision known to the commanders of the divisions, and we believe that it will by all means advance the sacred cause of the Japanese people. . . .

XXXVI

The Japanese were compelled to go further in their repudiation of their original extensive program. . . . On September 18 a new declaration of the Japanese Government was published, reading as follows:

On the basis of the declaration made public by the Japanese

[1] A place in Manchuria.

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Government on July 3 of this year at the time of the evacuation of our troops from the Transbaikal Province, and as a necessary measure, until the reestablishment of order, a certain number of troops have been retained in the district of Khabarovsk, as a strategically important point leading to the Sakhalin Province. Now, in view of the settlement of the political situation in the above-mentioned district, I announce the withdrawal of our troops therefrom. . . .

XXXVII

The Japanese left Transbaikalia. The population, regardless of class or situation, driven to extremity by the brutalities and the debauchery of Semionov's as well as Kappel's men . . . rose against them and in the middle of October drove them out of Chita. Ataman Semionov barely escaped from Chita and had to flee in an aeroplane. The Semionov-Kappel troops, encamped along the Transbaikal Railroad, bottled up the way between the Maritime Province and Transbaikalia. But, on the other hand, the Amur region obtained a railroad connection with Pribaikalia and a part of Transbaikalia. The Government transferred its seat immediately from Verkhne-Udinsk to Chita, which was selected as the place for the final conference of the representatives of all the provinces. One or two further efforts of the people, and the entire demoralized White army withdrew in a panic to Manchuria. . . .

XXXVIII

Before the Japanese now arose the question concerning the further use to be made of this army. . . . The valuable Maritime Province, including Vladivostok, was still in the clutches of the Japanese, and now, after having suffered so much, it became the central point of the Japanese "policy." The bandit "army" . . . was gradually transferred to the Maritime Province. . . . Semionov's men were sent to Grodekovo, a Cossack center, the Kappel men to Nikolsk, Razdolnoye, and other places, without paying any attention to the protests of the Maritime Government and the National Assembly. . . .

The Japanese were fulminating against the Verkhne-Udinsk Government, which had already moved to Chita, declaring that this Government having permitted the armed expulsion of Semionov had violated the agreement of July 15. The Japanese began to look around for a pretext to give support to the Semionov men. . . .

XXXIX

As soon as the various regions of the Far East had obtained the possibility of free communication . . . the representatives of the various provincial governments and of the national assemblies then in session gathered in Chita. This conference, which took place on November 9, finally united all the Far Eastern provinces. The Declaration of Independence was confirmed, the day of the elections to the Constituent Assembly was fixed, and the suffrage law for these elections adopted (Kerensky's law concerning universal suffrage); a central government of the Far Eastern Republic was created and it was intrusted with carrying out the elections; Chita was selected as the capital of the republic.

It was unanimously decided to ask for the cessation of the intervention. All officers and soldiers, the remainders of the armies of Kolchak and Semionov, were invited to return to peaceful work, inviolability of person being guaranteed them. In the spirit of these decisions a declaration of the Unity Conference of the Provinces of the Far East was issued, in which the foreign governments were invited to enter into close political and economic relations with the Central Government of the Far Eastern Republic.

XL

The Japanese . . . began to exert a pressure upon the Maritime Government and the National Assembly, menacing them with repressions if the National Assembly should confirm the decisions of the Conference of November 9. . . .

In order to make their presence felt, the Japanese began to hold up trains, not allowing anything to pass beyond the zone where their troops were stationed (Station Yevgenyevka); they prohibited the sending out of the city of silver money, with which the Government paid its employees, etc.

In spite of all these measures, the Maritime National Assembly, taught by its bitter experiences with the Japanese, . . . confirmed the work of the conference, recognizing the government elected in Chita as the Central Government. . . .

XLI

While everywhere provoking disorders, and keeping the entire population in a state of tension, the Japanese began (in January, 1921) to spread the rumor in Vladivostok that in view of the fact that the situation in the Far East was menacing the life and property of the foreigners, the consular body intrusted the Japanese with the defense and the protection of the interests of foreigners. The population which . . . understood the meaning of these rumors, was prepared for new Japanese attacks. On January 28 the papers published the following announcement from the American consul:

> The Government of the United States of America has not applied to any other government with the request to collaborate with its representatives or the local authorities for the defense of the life and the property of American citizens in Siberia, and has not counted upon such protection. The Government of the United States is also unaware of the fact that any other government has made such a request or counted upon such help, or would like to commit to any government whatsoever the protection of the interests of other nationalities or to accept the task of protecting the personal safety or the property of any other nationalities in Siberia.

Thus another Japanese provocation was unmasked.

XLII

In spite of the fact that in the Fisheries Convention of 1907 Japan obtained substantial rights for the exploitation of fisheries along the Russian Pacific Coast (equal rights with Russian citizens everywhere, except in the bays and the internal river waters), the Japanese were not satisfied. . . .

On December 16, 1920, the Japanese Imperial consul sent the following communication to the director of Foreign Affairs of the Vladivostok Government:

> With regard to the fisheries in the Sakhalin district I consider it my duty, in accordance with the instructions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to inform you as follows: The fisheries in the lower part of the Amur River, as well as in the Amur estuary, including the islands of Langer, Ud, etc., will from now on be under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Command. As for the fisheries in the remaining parts of Northern Sakhalin and in the waters of the coast from Cape Lazarev to De-Castri, which up to the present were under the jurisdiction of the Russian authorities in Vladivostok, they will henceforth also be under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Command.

This document, communicated from Vladivostok to Chita, brought forth an immediate protest on the part of the Government:

> The Government of the Far Eastern Republic protests against the forcible seizure which is a violation of the rights of the Russian people and its territorial sovereignty. This fact is in glaring contradiction to all the declarations by the Japanese Government of its unchanging respect for the rights of the Russian nation, its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

On January 17, 1921, the Japanese delivered to the Vladivostok Provincial Government a new note in which five demands were put forth which were in complete violation of Russian rights in general and of the fisheries convention in particular. These demands were supported by statements of the losses which the Japanese concerned in the fishing industry had sustained in connection with the disorders in 1918, 1919, and 1920. . . . The Japanese . . . did not receive any answer from the Government. On February 14 they again forwarded a note, in which they insisted upon a favorable reply.

On the following day, on February 15, an announcement of the Japanese Consul General was published, the contents of which were as follows:

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With reference to the communication of the head of the Japanese Diplomatic Mission (i. e., Consul Kikuchi) to the local authorities, represented by B. E. Skvirsky, of December 16, 1920, concerning the taking over of all fisheries of the Sakhalin district by the Japanese Command, I applied to the proper authorities, represented by D. P. Panteleyev, in my request of January 18 of the current year, asking him to omit the following fisheries (for the catching of fish and crabs) from the list of the fisheries that are to be leased in the course of the current year:

Fishing 68-a, Agnevsky 2; fishing 68-b, Agnevsky 5; crabbing 6, Pilevinsky; crabbing 27, Aspidsky; crabbing 28, Nanaysky.

In view of the fact that no answer has been given as yet to my aforesaid communication, I have been instructed by the Government to make the following announcement: The leasing of the above-mentioned fisheries by means of auctions, which in the course of the current year were arranged by the Russian authorities, will not be recognized by the Japanese Government.

Thus, after their note of December 16, concerning the fisheries, against which the Government protested, the Japanese considered themselves full masters of the Sakhalin coastline and of the lower part of the Amur. . . .

All their notes concerning fisheries, etc., the Japanese diplomats, as well as the military authorities, persistently directed not to the Central Government in Chita, but to the Vladivostok Government; when the representatives of this Government, after the conference of November 9, refused to accept such documents, the Japanese simply placed them on the desk and walked off. . . .

After this announcement the Government of the Far Eastern Republic in the beginning of March again protested against the Japanese usurpations:

The disorders which took place in 1918, 1919, and 1920 are the direct consequence of the policies of the Japanese Command, which has completely ignored the sovereign rights of the Russian people in Russian territory. The last verbal notes which were delivered on January 17 by the Japanese Consul General, as well as the memorandum of the Japanese Consul General of December 16, 1920, are considered by the Government as infringements upon the rights of the Russian people, and the Government reiterates its protest of January 19, 1921.

On March 14 the Government of the Far Eastern Republic gave a detailed answer to the five Japanese demands of January 17. In this reply the Government declares that the Japanese should reestablish the normal conditions prevailing before the seizure of the fisheries; that the Government is not opposed to satisfying the legitimate needs of the Japanese fishing industry, and that it furthermore is not opposed to the revision, by the interested parties, of the entire fisheries convention. But such an answer could, of course, not satisfy the Japanese. . . . On April 18 their answer to the reply of the Government of the Far Eastern Republic of March 14 was delivered: . . . They cannot wait and therefore take matters in their own hands. . . . And on April 12, under the instructions of the Japanese Government, the Japanese Consulate General in Vladivostok announced that the head of the Military Administrative Department of the Japanese Command in Sakhalin published a notice of February 19, 1921, concerning the leasing by auction of fisheries to Russians, the office of the Military Administrative Command in Sakhalin (Alexandrovsk) being designated as the place for the auction; in this announcement it is pointed out that "persons who want to consult the above-mentioned list, as well as the regulations and rules, may consult them in the Japanese language in the consulate." . . .

XLIII

After the declaration of July 3, 1920 (evacuation of Transbaikalia and occupation of the Sakhalin district), the Japanese did not say anything about Sakhalin, and only eight months later, on March 21, in Alexandrovsk, Lieutenant General Kozima, commander-in-chief of the expeditionary army in the Sakhalin district, published the following order:

On the basis of the declaration published last summer, in which the Japanese Imperial Government announced that Japanese troops would occupy important points in the Sakhalin district until the time when a lawful government should be organized in Russia and the question of the barbarous killing of the Japanese in Nikolaievsk should be settled, the Japanese expeditionary army will within the next days distribute its troops in the towns of De-Castri, Nikolaievsk, Mago, Sofisk, and other places, and will establish in these localities a civil administration in order to introduce there peace and order.

I appeal to the entire local population peacefully to occupy themselves with their affairs and to submit to the authorities named by us. . . .

On April 19 a Japanese transport arrived in De-Castri, and landed troops, a Japanese radio was erected there, the Russian telegraph was put under Japanese censorship, and communication with the Russian higher authorities without the permission of the Japanese was prohibited. On May 29 the head of the Military Mission who came to Marinsk with the Japanese detachment made the following announcement to the chairman of the District Board:

We herewith communicate to you the order which we received from Lieutenant General Kozima, commander of the army of the Sakhalin district: The Chita Government and the people of the Far Eastern Republic ought to know the contents of an announcement concerning important matters referring to the former Sakhalin district. On the basis of this announcement the activities of any other administration and of its representatives in the occupied territory is not allowed. On the basis of this order we invite you, the representatives of the Far Eastern Republic, a Government which we have not recognized as yet, to cease your activity.

On July 14, 1920, the Japanese Command made the following announcement:

In the near future Japan will inaugurate a military administration in the Russian part of Sakhalin.

For this reason (1) all institutions must hand over their affairs to the Japanese Command beginning with July 25. (Note—The majority of the officials and employees will remain in their former positions.) (2) Those who live in the buildings belonging to the state or to the community must leave them on the above date. (3) It is strictly prohibited to carry away from the above-mentioned buildings papers, instruments, supplies, etc.

The inhabitants were immediately told that if in the course of seven days they would not submit proofs that all their rights or privileges had been acquired from the Russian Government these rights and privileges would not be recognized. . . .

The Japanese law concerning capital punishment was introduced (with the application of execution) and the whole conduct of life was taken in hand by the Japanese, who issued a great number of regulations. . . . The order concerning the Supervision of the Mining Industry, issued on August 30, stipulates that:

1. Applications concerning the acquisition of rights in the mining industry shall not be received for the time being.
2. The granting of rights concerning the mining industry is discontinued for the time being.
3. The exercise of rights concerning the mining industry is prohibited for the time being, except in cases where the mining rights have been already enforced and the exploitation is actually in progress.
4. The head of the Military Administrative Board is entitled, if he deems it necessary, to limit the rights concerning the mining industry or forbid their exercise altogether, and so on.

This order brought forth the protest of even that adherent of the Japanese interventionist policy, Mr. Krupensky, the Czar's ambassador in Tokio. . . .

XLIV

As appears from the above the Japanese were doing and were ready to do anything that would lead to the realization of their designs on the Russian Far East. Knowing the difficulties in which France found herself after Wrangel's army was destroyed in the Crimea and evacuated from Russian territory; knowing the desire of France to continue the struggle against Soviet Russia at any price, the Japanese began, in January, 1921, to negotiate with the French Government for sending this entire army to the Russian Far East, and duly exploiting it as a fighting force. . . .

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The French willingly granted Japan freedom of action in the Russian Far East on the condition that the Wrangel troops should be transferred and used by the Japanese and that the Japanese, after satisfying their appetites, should give preference to the French over other foreigners in the matter of concessions. Japan had to furnish the shipping tonnage, but the French Government did not refuse to defray the expenses connected with the transfer of the troops. The central figure in the organization of this affair was subsequently to be Tirbakh, a former adjutant of Kolchak, who came from Paris to Shanghai especially for this purpose. The Japanese intended to put Semionov at the head of the troops should the transfer succeed. . . .

XLV

In the meantime the Government of the Far Eastern Republic, elected at the Conference of November 9, went its own way, and basing itself on the provincial authorities was executing the decisions taken by this conference. Under the supervision of a commission that was elected on a coalition basis the elections to the Constituent Assembly were going on. . . . The elections . . . gave an overwhelming preponderance to the representatives of the peasants.

The Constituent Assembly was to be the last stage in the struggle for the Democratic Republic in the Far East, and all those who had at heart the success of that republic were naturally bound at that moment to help the Government. . . . [But] Semionov's men . . . under the protection of the Japanese . . . [were still active] . . .

In the night of March 30-31 an attempt was made to overthrow the Government in Vladivostok, and the Japanese. . . . disarmed—not the White Guard bands which had attacked the Government—but the lawful militia, whose duty it was to defend peace and order. This revolt failed, but the Japanese did not lose heart. The counter-revolutionary activities were not interrupted. . . .

On May 26 the White Guards again made an attack and this time, after the Japanese had disarmed the government militia, they succeeded in seizing the power. The same thing happened in Nikolsk. Thus was created the so-called Merkulov Government. . . .

The Japanese had got what they wanted: The Maritime Province was severed from Chita; the unity of the Far Eastern Republic was violated; and it was possible to put still more obstacles in the way of the work of the Government. . . .

For the execution of their new plan [against the Far Eastern Republic] it was necessary for the Japanese that Semionov, their permanent chief hireling in such work, should come—as the Japanese, in spite of all their efforts, could not find another man who would be such a willing tool. But Semionov had to be brought from Port Arthur, where he was "resting" after his flight from Chita, and passed through Vladivostok under Japanese protection. In connection with the execution of their plan, the Japanese gave special and, of course, secret, instructions to the Japanese gendarmerie command, represented by Okimoto, the chief of the gendarmerie detachment, and Colonel Yama (June 22, 1921). These instructions were as follows:

1. On the basis of a secret agreement that was concluded in Port Arthur the Japanese Command should help Ataman Semionov in his landing in Vladivostok.

2. Should there occur a clash, after the landing of Ataman Semionov, between the Kappel and the Semionov men, the Japanese Command must disarm both sides.

3. Semionov intends to stay in Vladivostok for a long time. He intends to proclaim himself commander-in-chief of all the armed forces of the Far East and to declare a mobilization. The Japanese Command should watch the frame of mind of the population.

As soon as Semionov landed there immediately followed a conflict between him and the Kappel men. Semionov submitted to the Merkulov Government a great number of demands, but Merkulov's Government treated these demands as if they were tendered by Ataman Semionov in his capacity as a private individual.

The Japanese, dissatisfied with this turn of affairs, gave new instructions:

1. In order to prevent clashes between the Kappel and the Semionov men, Colonel Gomi is instructed to negotiate with Ataman Semionov and to suggest that he go to Grodekovo.

2. The Japanese Command should secretly extend help to Ataman Semionov after he reaches Grodekovo.

3. If the Merkulov Government arrests Ataman Semionov, the Japanese Command should protest and ask for his liberation.

4. During the absence of Ataman Semionov a clash might occur in Vladivostok between the Kappel and the Semionov men. The Japanese Command should disarm both sides.

The bitter hostility between the Kappel and Semionov men, which had already begun in Chita, was one of the unexpected obstacles. The plan of the new attack against the Far Eastern Republic was conceived in the following manner: From Mongolia the attack was to be made by Baron Ungern, Semionov's assistant, a Japanese agent, who, as soon as there was a serious menace from Verkhne-Udinsk, was sent by the Japanese—with a detachment—to Mongolia, to seize the power there, to organize an army, and to wait for orders for an attack. Ungern was to advance to Troitskosavsk, take Verkhne-Udinsk and Chita; from the Amur an attack was to be made by General Sychev, whose detachments were stationed on the Chinese bank of the Amur River; Sychev was to cross over to Russian territory and take Blagovyshchensk; from Grodekovo toward Iman and Khabarovsk the attack was to be led by "Ataman Semionov himself."

Thus, in the case of success, the entire territory of the Far Eastern Republic was to be occupied by "Russian" troops and the Japanese would have obtained their aim—a Far Eastern "Republic" under Japanese protectorate.

The secret agreement between the Semionov generals and the Japanese, which is printed below, exposes the whole deal.

TREATY

Absolutely Confidential.

June 8, 1921, the Fortress Vladivostok. We, the undersigned, on one side: Acting Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces and the Campaign Ataman of all the Cossack Troops of the Russian Eastern Borderland, Commander of the Grodekovo Group of Forces, Lieutenant-General Saveliev, and Chief of Staff of the Grodekovo Group of Forces, Major General of the General Staff, Sobolev, and on the other side, the representatives of the Diplomatic Mission with the Staff of the Eleventh Division of the Japanese Imperial Forces, Captain Arimoto and Lieutenant Higuchi, on the strength of authority given to us by the Commander-in-Chief of all the armed forces and of the Campaign Ataman of all the Cossack Forces of the Russian Eastern Borderland, and the Chief of Staff of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in Siberia, conclude this treaty regarding the following:

1. The forces intrusted to me are to make an offensive against the People's Revolutionary Army of the Far Eastern Republic.

The offensive is carried out in accordance with the following plan:

(a) The First Grodekovo Military Unit moves in the direction of the Lake Hanka Anuchino, where it joins with the units of the Second Northern (Khabarovsk) Military Unit.

(b) The Second Northern (Khabarovsk) Military Unit starts out *simultaneously with the First Unit in the direction of Anuchino-*Iman, where it joins the units of the first group.

(c) The individual units of the third Vladivostok group are transferred by sea to the bays St. Olga Tetiukha and march in the direction of Anuchino, where they join the units of the first and second groups.

(d) Small partisan detachments of the Usuri Cossacks are reorganized and are used for clearing the rear of the army from the Reds as it advances.

(e) The date of the active offensive is appointed by agreement with the Japanese Command, not later than July 1, 1921.

(f) In accordance with the degree of success of the offensive and as the military units in the district of Anuchino-Iman, the offensive movement against Khabarovsk is to be started.

(g) Partisan units of Major General Sychev, by order of the

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AUSTRIA

An American Dollar now will buy ten thousand kronen. One hundred dollars is equivalent to one million kronen. Austrian money has fallen in value so that physical death follows economic collapse unless outside aid is given.

The American Relief Committee for Sufferers in Austria was organized in 1920. Its New York Headquarters are at 15 Park Row. Its officers are Anton Wedl, Chairman; Emil Fischl, Treasurer; and John B. Creighton, Secretary.

All money collected goes to the American Friends (Quakers) Service Committee, for distribution.

The Friends support homes in Austria where thousands of undernourished children are restored to health. They have 600 cows near Vienna which give milk for 30,000 children daily. They give individual relief in the homes of professors, doctors, artists and other middle class people who are effected most adversely by the present economic condition.

Your remittance will be promptly acknowledged and immediately used for Austrian Relief.

Please send check or money order to

MR. EMIL FISCHL, Treasurer,
American Relief Committee for Sufferers in Austria,
20 Vesey Street, New York City.

Dear Sir: Please find enclosed $.....to be used for the needy men, women and children of Austria.

Name.....

Street.....

N. 2-15-22

City.....

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Chief of Staff of the Commander-in-Chief, must cross the Chinese frontier and enter the district of Blagovyeshchensk, coinciding with the time of the occupation of Iman.

(h) The units of Lieutenant General Baron Ungern-Sternberg are to be utilized for disorganizing the rear of the Reds and acting in small partisan units in accordance with the previously arranged plan within the districts: Misovaya-Selenga-Petrovsky Zavod.

2. As the Russian forces advance and occupy Iman-Khabarovsk, units of Japanese Expeditionary Forces, without taking an active part in the struggle with the Bolsheviks, temporarily occupy the regions freed from the Reds, giving aid to the expeditionary detachments in their struggle with the bolshevist partisan movement.

3. Upon the liberation of the Maritime district, the Japanese forces immediately evacuate from the places temporarily occupied by them to the cities of Nikolsk-Usuriisk and Vladivostok, and do not advance beyond the 30-verst line (as foreseen in the Russo-Japanese Treaty of April 29, 1920).

4. At the time of the beginning of the offensive of the Russian forces the Japanese Command gives them material aid amounting to five hundred thousand (500,000) yen and gives for use by the Russian Command the following arms and munitions: 3,200 rifles of various types, 350,000 cartridges to match the rifles, 24 machine guns of various types, 24 cases of cartridges to match them, 6 field and 2 mountain 3-inch cannon and 75 cases of shells for them. The number of arms and munitions may be increased in case of necessity.

5. The Japanese Command temporarily undertakes to supply the Russian forces with all necessary food and fodder and adopts measures to transport equipment and clothing from Tsindao and the railroad zone of the Chinese Eastern Railroad at Grodekovo.

6. After the occupation of Khabarovsk the Japanese Command enters a plea with the Japanese Imperial Government that the contraband be removed from the moneys deposited by Lieutenant General Ataman Semionov in the Yokohama Specie Bank and that these moneys be transferred to the Russian Command.

7. The Japanese Command aids in transporting Russian troops by sea to the northern coast and arms Russian ships which are guarding the coast as fully as possible.

8. The Japanese Command at the time of the occupation of Iman, at its own discretion, will land troops for the protection of the Japanese fishing schooners in the bays of St. Vladimir, Tetiukha, Terneye, and the Imperatorsky port.

9. Until permanent order is established in the Far East the Japanese Command takes upon itself the guarding of the port and of the fortress of Vladivostok and maintains a control of the lines of the Usuri and the Chinese Eastern Railroad.

10. After the occupation of Khabarovsk and the clearing of the country from the Communist Government of the Far Eastern Republic, the Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces and the Campaign Ataman of all the Cossack Forces of the Russian Eastern Borderland, Lieutenant General Ataman Semionov, temporarily, until the convocation of the territorial People's Assembly, assumes the full power of civil authority on the territory of the Far East.

11. After the clearing of the Maritime, Sakhalin, Kamchatka, Amur, and Transbaikal provinces, and the overthrow of the rule of the Far Eastern Republic, elections take place immediately for the territorial People's Assembly, with the purpose of establishing a democratic rule in the Far East.

12. When a stable governmental authority is established in the Far East, Japanese subjects shall receive preferential rights for obtaining hunting, fishing, and forestry concessions in the Maritime, Sakhalin, and Kamchatka provinces, and for the development of the mining resources and gold mines in the Maritime and Amur provinces.

13. Paragraph 12 of this treaty, in case of necessity, may be reconsidered and supplemented.

14. The above treaty goes into effect from the day of its signing by both sides.

Acting Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces and Acting Campaign Ataman of all the Cossack Forces of the Russian Eastern Borderland, Commander of the Grodekovo Military Unit,

(Signed) LIEUTENANT GENERAL SAVELIEV

Chief of Staff of the Grodekovo Military Unit, Major General of the General Staff, (Signed) SOBOLEV

Seal of the Staff of the Grodekovo Military Unit.

(Then follow the signatures and seals of the Japanese parties to the treaty in Japanese.

This is a true copy of the original.)

But here again the Japanese encountered the heroism and the stubbornness of the Russian population of the Far East. The bands of Ungern, after they entered the territory of the Far Eastern Republic and Soviet Russia, were dispersed by the troops of these two countries, and Ungern himself was executed; the bands of Sychev were unsuccessful, and finally, under the pressure of the Far Eastern Republic, were disarmed by the Chinese and dispersed; Semionov, having encountered opposition even among his own men, was forced to go abroad and the plan failed. . . .

The Japanese failure gave to the population of the Far East an opportunity to continue its work of strengthening the young state. On February 12 the Constituent Assembly of the Far Eastern Republic was opened and it immediately set about the task of the drafting of the constitution of the republic. This important work was finished on April 27, 1921. The Constituent Assembly . . . appealed to all those on whom depends the future peace not only of the Russian Far East but also of the entire Far East; to all former and present participants of the intervention, pointing out the collective responsibility of all of them for all the horrors suffered by the population during the Japanese intervention, which is still in operation. It could not help pointing out that the population which had beheld in the solemn declaration of the United States of America an assurance that the Japanese had come with their armies on the invitation of that Government, cannot help considering the American Government as primarily responsible for the misfortunes of the Russian Far East.

The Constituent Assembly appealed separately to the Japanese Government, proposing that it withdraw its troops and finally enter into normal political and economic relations, on the basis of equal rights of both parties. But Japan remained silent and continued its adventure in the Maritime Province.

XLVI

All appeals of the Government of the Far Eastern Republic remained unanswered, and only after President Harding had addressed the Powers with reference to the Washington Conference, at which inevitably the Far Eastern policy of Japan . . . would be discussed, did the Japanese inform the Government of the Far Eastern Republic of their consent and willingness to start negotiations with it. Thus the Dairen Conference was started, on August 26. The delegation of the Government of the Far Eastern Republic was immediately placed in a difficult position, as it was deprived of the possibility of safely communicating with its Government; its couriers were held up in Manchuria, and its telegrams arrived in a mutilated condition. . . .

The Japanese were not in a hurry and were protracting the negotiations, as they were unwilling to discuss the question of the evacuation of their troops. They completely refused to discuss the question of Sakhalin and the lower course of the Amur River, declaring that they could not discuss this matter with the Far Eastern Republic. They would discuss it with the recognized All-Russian Government. At the same time they insisted upon the revision, jointly with the Far Eastern Republic, of the Fisheries Convention of 1907, which was concluded between Japan and the Czar's Government. . . . The causes of this inconsistency are too clear to require pointing out. The conference remained without results and soon it became known what the Japanese were after. . . . While the Russian peasants according to the Constitution (this was also the case at the time of the Czar) could only lease their land for a long or a short term, the Japanese wanted the right of owning the land as property. This privilege is what the Japanese call "equal" rights with the Russian population. But in one case the Japanese really demanded "equal rights," namely, with regard to the navigation rights under the Japanese flag on the Amur River and to fishing in the bights and interior rivers—to which rights they are not entitled according to the agreements concluded, first, between Czarist Russia and China,

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MEXICO SHOWS THE WAY IN EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Frequently entire columns of the principal newspapers of this country are devoted to speaking of Mexico, and thus everybody knows that in less than ten years Mexico has attained second place among the petroleum-producing countries of the world; that its production of mineral oil in the past year was 180,000,000 barrels approximately; that a little more than half the silver which circulates in the world has been supplied by the mines of Mexico; and that during 1921 the Federal Offices of the Mexican Government registered a movement of more than 80,000 mining properties in the Republic.

It is likewise known that there exist enormous quantities of magnificent soil, uncultivated, or cultivated by antiquated and inefficient methods; that there are large tracts of land occupied by virgin forests of precious woods; that Mexico is the first hemp producer of the world; that the waterfalls are numerous and capable of furnishing a great amount of power. Lastly, and notwithstanding certain malicious propaganda by interested parties, it is known that after ten years of revolution peace now prevails in Mexico; that its methods of communication are speedy and that, thanks to its delightful climate and to the historical and natural beauty that can be found everywhere throughout the Republic, Mexico is an ideal place for seeking repose and is especially inviting to North American tourists.

But there are many other facts, more important than the foregoing ones, which never or very infrequently, have been told in the United States.

In the budget of the Mexican Government for the current year, 1922, 45,000,000 pesos are devoted to the development of Federal public education, this item having been 2,000,000 pesos in 1920 and 9,000,000 pesos in 1921. Mexico is, perhaps, the only country in the world which allots 15% of its expense budget to public education, while it reduces its war budget, which in previous years represented 80% of the total budget, to 33% of the budget for this year.

The new Minister of Public Education has initiated a great campaign against illiteracy, counting on some thousands of persons who voluntarily and gratuitously have offered their services as teachers and are teaching children and adults the fundamentals of primary instruction. This official has inaugurated a gratuitous service of breakfasts for the poor children who attend the schools of the Federal District, and distributes among these children daily several thousand glasses of milk and pieces of bread.

The different schools of the National University have more than 7,000 students, and in the different schools of technical education there are about 12,000 students registered. All these schools, located in the Federal District, as well as several others in different parts of the Republic, are being equipped in a modern way and preparing efficaciously a new era of prosperity in Mexico, based, not on the dominion of a few and on the bondage of the many, but on a technical organization adequate to the exigencies of the new economic and social organization of the world.

The contemporary educational movement in Mexico is entirely directed toward a development of the social sense, thus truly completing the work of the armed revolution which has just ceased. The Minister of Public Education publishes monthly a review or magazine, called *El Maestro* (the Master), which is distributed gratuitously among all the teachers of the Republic, the students, the societies and unions of employees, of workers, etc. This review has an average of 100 to 150 pages, and approximately 75,000 copies have lately been distributed every month.

The National University of Mexico has established an Editorial Department, which publishes the masterpieces of the world's literature. Thousands of these publications are made for distribution gratuitously among the libraries of the country. The object of this work is to extend to the masses as far as possible university culture, which in previous years has been confined to a small group of select people; to combat the charlatanism of agitators and demagogues, giving to all an opportunity to know in a simple and accessible manner the individual and social problems which interest the world; and, finally, to inject into the reform movement, which up to the present time in Mexico has been a work of purely popular origin, organization and technique.

The principal of the National University expressed the opinion that prevails at the present time in the public education of Mexico when he wrote the following words as a preface to the first number of *El Maestro* (the Master):

"Our columns shall be a free and gratuitous platform for all noble and beneficial ideas, and in no case shall be at the service either of a party or of a group, but of the entire country. . . . The only principle which will serve as a standard for those who may write here is the conviction that culture is worthless, ideas are worthless, art is worthless, if it all is not instilled into the general interest of humanity, if its object is not to attain the relative welfare of all men, if it does not insure liberty and justice, which are indispensable in order that all may develop their capabilities and elevate their spirit to the light of the highest ideals. . . . To educate the great mass of the inhabitants is much more important than to produce geniuses, inasmuch as in truth the genius is worthless except for his ability to regenerate a multitude besides himself. . . ."

Lastly, to encourage the intense propaganda of what might well be called in Mexico the apostleship of culture, there has been printed on the last page of the *Master* the following paragraph:

"The great majority of our fellow-creatures do not know how to read or write and the fault lies with us who do know. Just as you receive this magazine, which is offered to you for your personal culture, you should cheerfully offer to your fellow-creatures the instruction which they demand of you. . . . Teach all those to read who cannot do so. This magazine is made for the *majority*, but it is of interest to *all* and should interest *all*. Consequently, the knowing spirits must read it through their intelligence, with spiritual generosity, knowing that a country and a culture are not improvised, and *that they more than anyone else are obligated to contribute, with their rare intelligence, to popular education.*"

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and second, between Czarist Russia and Japan. Having received this "equalization," the Japanese would de facto be not the equals but the masters in the Russian Far East.

Very ominous was and still is the desire of the Japanese to destroy the long-abandoned fortress of Vladivostok, . . . as well as their insistence that the Government of the Far Eastern Republic should not fortify the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Of a similar nature also was the attempt to obtain the consent of the Government of the Far Eastern Republic to a "temporary" establishment of Japanese troops on the territory of the Far Eastern Republic whenever the Japanese Government should deem this necessary.

All this is a clear indication of the future intentions of Japan with reference to the Russian Far East. As to the economic aspects of the matter, the Japanese Government declared . . . that the Government of the Far Eastern Republic should recognize all the rights which were acquired by Japanese citizens from former Russian governments. But this demand, which, at first glance, seems quite innocent, means for the Japanese something quite different, . . . by Russian governments they understand the "governments" of Semionov and Merkulov, created by the Japanese, and imposed upon the Russian population with the help of Japanese bayonets. With them the Japanese concluded and are concluding secret treaties . . . concerning concessions and various exclusive privileges and rights. The population of the Far Eastern Republic considers these "governments" as common criminals. . . . The indignation which such a request on the part of Japan arouses among the Russian population is therefore quite natural. No wonder the Japanese and Russian delegates have been deliberating for four months in Dairen without obtaining any results.

The Dairen Conference was necessary for the Japanese in order that they might be able to say in Washington that all the questions connected with the "evacuation" of the Japanese troops from Siberia are being solved by them jointly with the Russians, thus diverting the attention of the participants in the Conference. After the Conference they hope to have a free hand. Simultaneously with the negotiations in Dairen, the Japanese are giving instructions to their troops in Vladivostok to support and to defend with Japanese bayonets the so-called "Provisional" Government of Merkulov. Of this the following secret Japanese telegram is sufficient evidence:

Tokio, September 26,
Radio General Staff, Vladivostok.

In case of disorders the strictest neutrality is to be observed. The Provisional Government is to be defended, if necessary, by force. All overtures on the part of the Far Eastern Republic referring to the occupation of Nikolsk-Usuriisk and Vladivostok are to be declined diplomatically, and if this will not help, also by force. An official communication with the Russian Government in this respect is not necessary. MINISTER OF WAR. . . .

XLVII

By the "agreement" with China, of August, 1918, the Japanese received the legal right to fix themselves for a long time on the Chinese Eastern Railway, to establish themselves there so that in the future it would be easier for them to swallow also this piece of Chinese territory, on which Czarist Russia had gained so firm a hold. All the further Japanese intrigues of the last few years . . . were . . . directed toward the creation of a proper situation to "justify" . . . a prolonged protection of this railroad. The complicity of the Japanese in the attacks of the Khun-Khuses on the Eastern Chinese Railroad is no secret for any one in the Far East. . . . France, which claims her own interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway through the Russian-Asiatic Bank, is not disinclined to help the Japanese whenever that is possible in this intrigue, by supporting the Japanese point of view. . . . With the help of the Chinese reactionaries in Manchuria, the influence of the Japanese grows; this is also the center of the intrigues of the Russian counter-revolutionists who are paid in Japanese coin for their services. Harbin and Manchuria were the centers of the activities of Horvath, Semionov, Kalmykov, and many others. Hailar subsequently became the base for Baron Ungern, who was operating in Mongolia, and Hailar became a refuge for them when they had to flee before the troops of the Far Eastern Republic and Soviet Russia. Through the Chinese Eastern Railway, Semionov's men, against the will of the Maritime Government, entered the Maritime Province. Thus the Chinese Eastern Railway, which so long was the object of Japanese aspirations, has finally come into their hands. The secret Japanese telegrams quoted below, the first of September 12, 1921, from Tokio, and the second, the reply thereto, of September 27, from Harbin, are a very good illustration of the Japanese intentions:

Tokio, September 12, Radio,
To the General Staff Vladivostok,
k/t Confidential:

Your army should be ready for the occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The plan of occupation will be delivered to you (in writing). The occupation will have a temporary and demonstrative character. We are waiting for particulars from Dairen.

MINISTRY OF WAR

Harbin, September 27,
General Tachibana, Vladivostok.
Delivered by courier:

After considering the situation concerning the demonstrative occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, I beg to inform you as follows:

A demonstrative occupation would be a mistake on our part, because we would not have a sufficient cause for it. A full agreement with the important Russian groups in Harbin has not been reached; the influential personalities have rejected our proposal. They consider it inopportune to address their request directly to the Japanese Government; they are still pretending to be good patriots. For my part, I consider the occupation as premature, aside from the fact that I do not expect any results from the Dairen Conference. The occupation might have an undesirable effect upon the Far Eastern Republic and give away our future plans. For the time being we must not cast off our role as benevolent friends of the Russians.

Concerning this question I have sent my written report by courier to Tokio. TAKAYAMA

WHAT NOW?

The whole history of Japanese intervention in the Russian Far East from the first day up to the present has undoubtedly proved that there is a determined plan of Japan to bring about, with the consent and the approval of France, a masked annexation of the entire Far East, or at least of portions of it. This history also establishes the fact that the Japanese, under the influence of the international situation, have frequently changed their plans—now reducing the territory of the intended annexation, now increasing it, now suddenly preparing "Russian" forces, which they sent forth at the necessary moment. At present there is in the hands of the Japanese the southern part of the Maritime Province, which they are trying to enlarge through the so-called "governments" which they are imposing there; they are in complete possession of Sakhalin and the lower course of the Amur, which is invaluable in economic as well as in strategic respects; they are the masters of the whole Pacific Coast.

Japan will return the seized territories in a peaceful way only under the pressure of those who so often have forced her to change her plans and to alter her course. But will they force Japan to stop this dangerous game? . . . The Washington Conference and . . . all those who have taken part in the intervention in the Far East ought in their own interest . . . to liberate the Russian population of the Far East finally from this terrible and unequal struggle, which it has been conducting for three years in the defense of its rights and its dignity.

The Russian people are waiting for the answer to the question: What now?

On this answer depends the future peace in the Russian Far East.

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